Bibliographical Survey of Social Reform Movements in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Sumit Sarkar

Indian Council of Historical Research
New Delhi

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15 March 1975 (24 Phalguna 1896)

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Rs. 10.00

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Sole Distributors:

Motilal Banarsidass
Indological Publishers & Booksellers
Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar
Delhi-110007

Printed by the Manager (Publication), Indian Council of Historical Research, 35, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi-110001
Printed at Delhi University Press, University of Delhi, Delhi-110007

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Foreword

When the ICHR was set up in 1972, one of the schemes which it undertook in pursuance of its objectives of promoting scholarship in historical studies was the identification of trends in the analysis of important themes on which Indian scholars had done research since Independence and to seek to identify elements on which further research could profitably be carried out. The survey series of the ICHR was initiated for this purpose.

The present book attempts a competent survey of important secondary publications on reform movements among both Hindus and Muslims regionwise. It also touches on printed primary sources on the subject. The gaps suggested as a result of this survey should provide interesting lines for future investigation. The survey has been written by Dr Sumit Sarkar, who has used in it his intimate knowledge of social history of Bengal acquired in course of his study of the first phase of nationalism in that region.

I trust that this volume will be of use to all those who are interested in the social history of Bengal in the mid-nineteenth century.

R. S. Sharma
Chairman
Indian Council of Historical Research

15 March 1975
New Delhi

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Prefatory Notes

The present survey of the historical literature on social reform movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been commissioned and financed by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

The major part of the bibliographical data was collected by my research assistant, Shri Arun Bandopadhyay.

Acknowledgments are due to the authorities of the National Library, Calcutta, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. My thanks go also to Shri Dibakar Karmokar, who typed the manuscript.

Responsibility for omissions and errors, however, is mine alone.

10 March 1975
New Delhi.

Sumit Sarkar

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Introduction

A bibliographical survey of social reform movements should ideally begin with a precise definition of the subject, yet this is by no means as simple a matter as it might appear at first sight. "Social reform" has been a major concern of our English-educated and predominantly Hindu intelligentsia ever since the emergence of the latter in the early nineteenth century, and the broad themes seem obvious enough: emancipation of women, attacks on certain social customs, religious rituals, and caste restrictions felt to be irrational and immoral by men aspiring towards a Westernized culture and style of life, and (somewhat later and mainly in the twentieth century) efforts at lower caste upliftment and repudiations of the caste structure itself. Modern self-conscious and organized social reform movements have thus had a clear upper-caste (and upper and middle class) basis and orientation. Too facile an acceptance of such elite movements at their own self-evaluation as the only worthwhile and important kind of social reform that has been attempted in our country is rather dangerous, since it would lead us to ignore much less well-documented yet not unimportant processes taking place at other levels of Indian society: anti-traditionalist lower caste religious sects, for instance (particularly relevant for us because our survey has to take in the eighteenth century also), or stirrings within Indian Islam.

In the second place, as Charles H. Heimsath has pointed out in one of the few theoretical discussions of the subject at present available (*Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, Princeton University Press, 1964, Introduction), "social reform" is a

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sub-set within the immensely broader category of "social change" —"the social reform movement did not include all forces operating to produce social change; it was only one, distinct component of those forces " [pp. 4-5]. That seclusion has become a thing of the past for so many upper and middle class women in India's cities is obviously due far more to economic pressures than to the conscious efforts of Brahmos or even of Gandhi. Again, Indian traditional society was never as immobile as it was once imagined to be, but I feel that the vast subject of caste mobility opened up by modern sociological research falls outside our present scope, since "Sanskritization", in M. N. Srinivas' words, involves "positional" and not "structural" changes in the given hierarchy. (M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, California, 1966). Upward mobility through imitation of "twice-born" mores often worked at cross-purposes with the aims of the social reformers, in matters like widow-remarriage, for instance. "For one convert that Mr. Malabari may make, at the cost of much social obloquy, among the highly educated classes, Hinduism sweeps whole tribes into its net."[1] Caste mobility and modernistic social change have become in recent years the subjects of considerable sociological research; for our present purpose, however, works like J. and R. H. Useems [*The Western-Educated Man in India--A Study of His Social Roles and Influence,* Dryden Press, New York, 1955], J. Silverberg (ed.) [*Social Mobility in the Caste System in India, an Interdisciplinary Symposium,* Mouton, Hague and Paris, 1968], M. Singer and B. S. Cohn (ed.) [*Structure and Change in Indian Society*, Chicago, 1968], and D. G. Mandelbaum [*Society in India*, Volumes I and II, California, 1970] have only marginal relevance.

In the third place, the history of social reform from the early nineteenth century onwards is closely bound up with the evolution of governmental attitudes and policies. Since our subject, however, concerns reform *movements*, I have not attempted any kind of comprehensive survey of this well-trodden field, though it has proved impossible to maintain rigid barriers, here as well as elsewhere, in this bibliographical essay.

The distinction, and conflict, between "reform" and "revivalism" in the nineteenth century seems obvious enough

[1] H.H. Rislay's Note of 22 March 1886, quoted in Heimsath, p. 156,

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on the surface, but here once again the superficial simplicities disappear upon closer analysis. Critics of social reformers seldom confined themselves to a mere defence of the status quo, and in strict logic "revivalist" calls for a return to real or imaginary past standards also involve a demand for change and therefore a kind of "reform"—retrogressive, one may feel, but then that is no more than a value judgement. In more concrete terms, reform and revival were often inextricably combined in the writings and activities of men like Dayananda Saraswati or Vivekananda, for instance. Similar problems arise in the study of nineteenth-century Indian Islam: Sayyid Ahmed Khan is easily identifiable as a modernistic reformer, but how are we to characterize the Wahhabi movement and its off-shoots which undoubtedly changed Muslim life in our country in quite a profound manner ? The processes of "Islamization" promoted by the latter bear obvious resemblances to the Sanskritizing tendencies I have excluded from the survey, but since with the Muslims the whole of society was affected, and not just the relative position of certain sub-groups, a more inclusive approach has seemed appropriate here.

In arranging the bibliographical material, the major division that has been adopted in this survey is between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries; the evident lack of equity here, so far as space is concerned, reflects the present state of historical knowledge and not necessarily intrinsic importance. Within the nineteenth century, a survey of general works on Hindu reform is followed by the analysis of available material arranged region-wise (Bengal, Western India, Upper India, and Madras); then come references to all-India reform movements, and finally works on reform tendencies within Indian Islam. Under each sub-heading, the order I have followed is: general surveys (usually of relatively recent origin), biographical and other secondary works on individual reformers and movements, and published contemporary or near-contemporary sources (the works of the reformers themselves, pamphlets, newspaper extracts, etc.).

I would like to add that I am acutely aware of the limitations and incompleteness of the present survey. A truly comprehensive survey would have required far greater time, resources, and ability than were at my command. The most obvious deficiency is with regard to vernacular sources. I have been able

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to include here only some Bengali material plus a handful of Hindi and Marathi references culled from secondary works in English. As a rule, only books personally examined by myself or by my research assistant, Shri Arun Bandopadhyay, have been included; the survey does not cover, therefore, the doctoral work now under preparation in Indian or foreign universities, or unpublished theses. The present bibliographical essay can claim to be no more than a preliminary reconnaissance of an extended and complex field.

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The Eighteenth Century

In sharp contrast to what was to happen under British rule, social reform in the eighteenth century was essentially a lower-class affair, integrally bound up with the bhakti tradition of popular monotheistic sects. Ever since the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, these had periodically emerged in many parts of India usually as off-shoots of Vaishnava Hinduism, or Sufi Islam, attacking idolatry and Brahmin religious privileges, denying caste distinctions and the inferior status of women at least on special occasions like festivals, and sometimes (though certainly not always) preaching the essential brotherhood of Hindus and Muslims. The limitations of such movements considered as agencies for social reform are obvious enough: the absence of a secular or rationalistic outlook, other-worldliness and guru-worship, and above all the tendency to develop into isolated sects or what became virtually sub-castes, getting absorbed in this way into the traditional socio-religious structure[2]. Yet the elitist English-educated reformers of the nineteenth century who are so much better-known surely suffered from other, not necessarily less serious, limitations. It is important and worthwhile to stress the distinction between "traditional" and 'modern' reform, as Heimsath has done; a bibliographical survey, however, has to try to include both.

Among recent general works dealing with the eighteenth century, the first chapter (entitled "Trends of Religious Thought") of Kalikinkar Datta's *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic*

[2] C.H. Heimsath, pp. 9-10, 33-38.

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Condition in the Eighteenth Century (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1961) contains a brief account of heterodox sects more or less critical of caste distinctions. Those mentioned are the Karta Bhaja, Spashtadayaka, and Balarami sects in Bengal (all originating in the Nadia-Murshidabad region); the Dariya Saheb in Shahabad (Bihar); Sivnarayani in Balia (U.P.); the Satnamis of Oudh and Madhyapradesh; the Charan Dasi of Delhi and Alwar; the Ramsanehi of Jaipur; Dedhraj's sect in Punjab; and the Swami Narayanis of Gujarat. Dr. Kalikinkar Dutta's earlier work, *Studies In the History of the Bengal Subah: Social and Economic* (Calcutta University, 1936) also contains some relevant eighteenth-century material. A similar list is to be found in V. P. S. Raghuvanshi's, *Indian Society in the 18th Century* (Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969), Chapter IV (entitled "Religion and Society"). Raghuvanshi argues that the existence of such popular monotheistic movements "testify to the movement of reform manifesting in society even independently of foreign influence" (p. 146). An earlier general work, P. N. Bose's *A History of Hindu Civilization during British Rule*, Volume I (Calcutta, 1894), also gives a list of monotheistic sects in Chapter IV ("Recent Hindu Sects 1758-1892").

The major part of the information summarized in these general works comes from H. H. Wilson's famous *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (first published in *Asiatic Researches,* Calcutta, 1828, 1832; reprinted, London, 1846, 1862 and Calcutta, 1958). Wilson in his turn used William Ward's *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindus* (Serampore, 2nd Edition 1818). Wilson's work contains a detailed account of the Kabir-panthis, some information about the Karta Bhajas of Ghoshpara in Nadia, and a fifteen-page description of syncretist and monotheisic sects (pp. 193-206), including the Baba Lahis, Pram Nathis, Sadhs, Satnamis, Sivanarayanis, and Sunyavadis. Akshoy Kumar Dutta's *Bharatvarshiya Upasak Sampraday* (2 volumes, Calcutta, 1870, 1883; abridged version, excluding the introduction to the first volume, edited Benoy Ghosh, Calcutta, 1969) was modelled on Wilson, but included much additional information. Wilson's work had dealt with 43 sects in all; Akshoy Kumar's first volume added another 22 (Introduction to Volume I—Benoy Ghosh's edition, p. 9). Akshoy Kumar's work contains an enormous amount of data concerning the

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doctrines, rituals, and practices of sects like the Ramsanehi (pp. 71-79)[3] , Spashtadayaka (p. 111), Baul (111-114), Kartabhaja (pp. 120-127), Balarami (pp. 137-139), and numerous others. Also very important in this context are Kshitimohan Sen's Adhar Mukherji lectures delivered to Calcutta University in 1929, *Bharatiya Madhyayuge Sadhanar Dhara;* more sympathetic in their approach in some ways than Akshoy Kumar Dutta, the lectures, however, suffer from a serious want of arrangement. Another Bengali work giving details about the Kartabhaja is Radhakanta Gangopadhyay's *Kuler Path O Ghoshpara* (Calcutta, 1926).[4] Scattered but valuable information about many of these heterodox sects may be obtained from the standard British surveys: Montgomery Martin's edition of Buchanan-Hamilton, used by V. P. S. Raghuvanshi, for example (*History of Eastern India*, 3v, London, 1838), W. Crooke's *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad, 1893), Hunter's *Statistical Accounts* (especially Volume II, Trubner and Co., London, 1877), district gazetteers, and H. H. Risley's *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (2 volumes, Calcutta, 1891). Finally, though social reform in the eighteenth century seems to have been mainly a lower-class affair, we do hear of an interesting attempt to get orthodox sanction for widow-remarriage made by Raja Rajballabha just before Plassey: for this, see Rasiklal Gupta, *Maharaja Rajballabha Sen* (Calcutta, 1914).[5]

Despite their evident sympathy for syncretist cults, scholars like K. K. Datta, V. P. S. Raghuvanshi, K. M. Sen, P. N. Bose, and Akshoy Kumar Dutta looked at the subject essentially from the angle of Hindu society. An alternative, "Islamic" approach is that characterizing the work of Aziz Ahmad. His *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964) includes two valuable chapters on Sufism and Hindu Mysticism (Part II, 4) and Popular Syncretism (Part II, 5) in the India of pre-British times. Aziz Ahmad emphasizes the basically Islamic roots of Sufism, and argues that "the role of Sufis in India has been over-estimated and over-idealized

[3] All references to Benoy Ghosh's edition.

[4] I am indebted for this reference to Shri Hiteshranjan Sanyal, of the Centre for Studies in Soclal Sciences, Calcufta.

[5] I obtained this reference from Dr. Rajatnath Roy, of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

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as eclectic and as a bridge between Hinduism and Islam" (p. 134). He seems to have in mind the work of Tara Chand (*Influence of Islam on Hindu Culture*, Allahabad, 1936; frequent approving references are made, on the other hand, to R. C. Majumdar (ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Volume VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960) for his playing-down of syncretist movements and insistence upon the essential disparity and conflict between Islam and Hinduism throughout Indian history.

A central and crucially important theme in the history of Indian Islam is evidently the conflict between the syncretist tendencies represented at the court level by Akbar and Dara Shikoh, and the movement for purification of Islam which was started by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, espoused to a certain extent by Aurangzeb, and reached its climax with the great and complex figure of Shah Wali-ullah. An analysis of this internal conflict has been attempted in Mohammad Yasin's *A Social History of Islamic India*, 1605-1748 (Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1958); despite the title, however, there is relatively little information about the eighteenth century. The Wali-Ullahi movement is discussed in Aziz Ahmad, Part II, Chapter 9. A copious literature (much of it in Urdu, though) has grown around Shah Wali-Ullah in recent years, ever since Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi's *Shah Walivullah aur unki sivasi tahrik* (Lahore, 1944). K. A. Nizami edited Wali-Ullah's political letters in *Shah Waliyullah Dihlawi ki sivasi maktubat* (Aligarh, 1950), and analyzed their implications in *Shah Waliullah Dihlawi and Indian Politics* (*Islamic Culture*, Volume 25, 1951), as well as in his article included in *A History of the Freedom Movement* (*being the story of Muslim struggle for the Freedom of Hind-Pakistan*), Volume I, Karachi, 1957. For Wali-Ullah, as well as in general for Islamic developments from 1700 onwards, an indispensable guide to research has been provided by Muin Ud-Din Ahmad Khan, *A Bibliographical Introduction to Modern Islamic Development in India and Pakistan*, 1700-1955 (Appendix to *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Volume IV, 1959). The section on Shah Wali-Ullah is Chapter II, pp. 25-43. The tendency towards a glorification of the Sirhindi-Wali Ullah tradition was sharply challenged by Irfan Habib in a paper presented to the Aligarh session of the Indian History Congress entitled *The Political Role of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi*

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and Shah Walullah and reprinted in *Enquiry*, No. 5 (New Delhi, 1961). Barun De has recently attempted a historiographic analysis of this lesser known Islamic counterpoint to the much-played Hindu renaissance theme (*A Critique of the Historiography of the Trend Entitled Renaissance in 19th Century India*—Paper presented to the Indo-Soviet symposium on Economic and Social Development of India and Russia from the 17th to the 19th Century—Moscow, May 1973).

The fate of the "traditional" reform movements in British-ruled India is an interesting but still rather neglected subject. Heimsath, op.cit. has a section on traditional reform in the nineteenth century (Chapter II, pp. 38-45), where he has taken as examples the Swami Narayana sect of Gujarat, Mahatma Ramalingam of Tamilnad, and (more controversial, perhaps, so far as social reform history is concerned) Ramakrishna Paramhansa of Bengal. For the first two, he uses material collected by Manilal C. Parekh, *Sri Swami Narayana* (Rajkot, 1937) and Shuddhananda Bharati, *Mahatma Ramalingam and His Revelations* (Pondicherry, 1936). P. N. Bose, op. cit., contains an interesting discussion about the Ramballavi sect, apparently an off-shoot of the Karta-Bhaja, founded in the early nineteenth century in a Calcutta suburb (Volume I, Chapter V, pp. 131-2); information about this group was collected by Nagendranath Chattopadhyay, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj missionary and biographer of Rammohun Roy. Some relevant information about such sects may be found also in Akshoy Kumar Dutta, op. cit., as well as, of course, in the British administrative surveys already mentioned.

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The Nineteenth Century

I. Bibliographies

The best bibliography on social reform movements that I have seen so far is Heimsath, op. cit., pp. 357-71. K. K. Datta's, *A Survey of Recent Studies on Modern Indian History* (2nd Edition, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1963) contains a chapter (Section VII) on social and cultural history; many of the thesis subjects listed here, however, seem to have been modified in course of later work and relatively few have been published so far. For movements within Islam, there is the excellent bibliographical introduction by Muir Ud-Din Ahmad Khan, already cited. The works listed below vary widely as regards the extent and value of their bibliographical appendices, as I have tried to indicate wherever this was felt to be necessary.

II. General Works

In sharp contrast to the previous period, social reform has been universally acknowledged to be an important component of Indian history from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards. Practically every general work or textbook on India since Rammohun therefore contains a section or sections on social reform. There seems little point in noting all such references, even if anything like a complete list had been feasible, which it is obviously not. We may take as a good illustration of

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this kind of material *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part II (ed., R. C. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1965), Chapter VII (also written by R. C. Majumdar), which provides a fairly adequate introduction to the subject, and includes a brief but useful bibliography. Mention should be made also of Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India, Volume II* (Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1967), Chapter VI of which is on social reform, with references particularly to Bengal, Bombay and Gujarat.

Three major attempts have been made in recent years to present a general survey of social reform movements in India since the beginning of the nineteenth century. S. Natarajan's *A Century of Social Reform in India* (Asia, 1959) is sketchy on Bengal, but contains much useful information about Bombay, Madras, and the all-India reform movement in the last years of the century centered around the Indian Social Conference. The author has made good use of the files of the *Indian Social Reformer* which his father had edited from 1890 to 1940. The book is marred, however, by bad arrangement, occasional startling inaccuracies (e.g., the statement on p. 27 that Rammohun "founded the first English school in India"), and numerous incomplete references, and there is little attempt to go beyond a mere chronological description. A more scholarly work, covering more or less the same ground, is V. A. Narain, *Social History of India—The Nineteenth Century* (Meenakshi Prakshan, Meerut, 1972). This is well-annotated, and contains a good bibliography.

At quite another level of sophistication and analysis, however, is Charles H. Heimsath's work, which has been referred to several times already. Heimsath begins with a careful definition of social reform and an attempt to distinguish between "traditional" and "modern" reform movements. His main theme is the interaction between religious, social, and political reform movements, representing "the primary areas of creative intellectual endeavour for most educated Indians" (p. 6) in the nineteenth century. Chapters IV, X, and XI describe provincial reform movements; the relatively well-known developments in Bengal are deliberately treated rather briefly (though there is a good account of Sasipada Banerji, pp. 269-72), but a lot of information is given about the movements in Bombay, Madras, and Northern

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India. The detailed account of Dayananda and the Arya Samaj (Chapter V) is partly based on an unpublished Yale thesis by J. Reid Graham, and along with the section on the Age of Consent Bill agitation (Chapter VII) and the controversies within the National Social Conference (Ranade and Telang vs Bhandarkar, Chandavarkar and Natarajan—Chapter VIII), comprise the best parts of the book. More controversial, however, is Heimsath's theoretical schema (pp. 6-8), distinguishing between three phases in the history of social reform: an alleged preoccupation with *individual* revolt and reform, together with strong religious links, from Rammohun to the early 1880s; the elevation of the movement to a national plane, combined with a more secular approach (Malabari, and the National Social Conference); and a rather vaguely-defined third stage "in which social reform began to mean a regeneration of the traditional spirit of the nation" (p. 8), associated with "the reconstruction of Indian nationalism" by the Extremists.

A. R. Desai's *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (4th Edition, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1966; first published, 1948) contains four chapters (XIII–XVII) on social reform movements directed against caste, untouchability, and the subordinate status of women. An attempt is made by this Marxist scholar to relate such movements to "the rise of new social classes in India" (Chapter XI), but the discussion remains usually on too general a level. Another pioneer Marxist attempt to analyse Indian society was Dhurjatiprasad Mukherji's *Modern Indian Culture--A Sociological Study* (2nd Edition, Hind Kitab Ltd., Bombay, 1948; first published, 1942). K. C. Vyas' *The Social Renaissance in India* (Vora and Company, Bombay, 1957) is a rather elementary survey based on well-known secondary material. The more ambitious work of D. S. Sharma (*Studies in the Renaissance of Hinduism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Benaras Hindu University, 1944) concentrates on four movements: Brahmoism, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, and the Ramakrishna movement; the emphasis throughout is on the reinterpretations of Hindu religion and philosophy, and there are only stray references to social reform. Religion—though missionary-christian rather than revivalist-Hindu—constituted the basic interest also of two earlier surveys: J. N. Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York,

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1924) and C. F. Andrews' *The Renaissance in India—Its Missionary Aspects* (Church Missionary Society, London, 1912). An early general account is P. N. Bose's *A History of Hindu Civilization during British Rule* (4 volumes, Calcutta, 1894-96), with a sketch of the history of Brahmoism in the first volume (Chapter V), and a description of the movements against sati, child-marriage, polygamy and in favour of widow-remarriage and an end to the taboo on sea-voyages in the second (Chapter II-IV).

The improvement of the status of women constituted the central theme in the social reform movements of the nineteenth century. For the period prior to 1857, the major work here is Kalikinkar Dutta's *Education and Social Amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India* (Patna Law Press, Patna, 1936) which brought together a mass of information about women's education, sati and the campaign against it, and the beginnings of the widow-remarriage movement (Chapters I-III). The book was based on a careful study of contemporary British records, English and Bengali pamphlets, journals, and biographies. Incidentally, there is some information here also about the eighteenth century, including an account of the effort made by Raja Rajballabh in 1756 to get the consent of pundits to the remarriage of his widowed daughter. A more recent work on the same subject is Neera Desai's *Women in Modern India* (Vora and Company, Bombay, 1957), with two chapters (IV and V) on the "Social reform movement with special reference to women". The book is based partly on the reports of institutions connected with women's welfare (like the Gujarat Vernacular Society or the Deccan Education Society), and of particular value is the bibliography, which provides a glimpse of the wealth of vernacular sources by listing some twenty tracts in Gujarati and Hindi. Reference may be made also to Usha Chakrabarti's *Condition of Bengali Women around the 2nd half of the 19th Century* (Calcutta, 1963).

For reform movements in nineteenth century Indian Islam, the best available general account is Aziz Ahmad's *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan,* 1857-1964 (Oxford University Press, 1967). There is an excellent analysis here of the ideas and activities of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Chapter II). W. Cantwell Smith's *Modern Islam in India* (London, 1946) is also useful, though perhaps somewhat over-schematic. Professor M. Mujeeb's Evelyn Hersey Memorial Lecture (*Social Reform among*

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Indian Muslims, Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi University, 1968) is much too brief, but it does make one important point: the evils attacked by reformers have little to do with the shariat, as Indian Islam is a society "where the official representatives of orthodoxy are more official than orthodox, and where the mass of the people are in a process of conversion" (p. 5). Some incidental information is contained also in Ram Gopal, *The Indian Muslims—A Political History, 1858-1947* (London, 1959).

It has been noted in the introduction that works on British administrative policies have generally been left out of this survey, but an exception seems necessary in the case of social evils like slavery, female infanticide, and thuggee which were banned or suppressed almost entirely at the initiative of the foreign rulers without very much evidence of indigenous pressures behind such decisions. For slavery, the relevant works include W. Adam, *Law and Custom of Slavery in British India* (London, 1840), J. Peggs, *Slavery in India* (London, 1840), H. A. Stark, *Calcutta in Slavery Days* (Calcutta, 1917), R. Coupland, *The British Anti-Slavery Movement* (London, 1933) and D. R. Banerji, *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933). For thuggee, see E. Thornton, *Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs* (London, 1837), and Meadows-Taylor, *Confessions of a Thug* (London, 1839). M. N. Das' *Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India : 1848-56* (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1959), Chapter IX, surveys the efforts made to abolish infanticide by Charles Raikes in the North-West Provinces, M. R. Gubbins in Agra, and John Lawrence in Punjab. The earlier anti-slavery and anti-infanticide attempts made by officials in Bengal Presidency have been described in Amitabha Mukherji, *Reform and Regeneration in Bengal, 1774-1823* (Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta, 1968), Chapter IV. For female infanticide, see also C. R. Mody, *Female Infanticide* (Bombay, 1849), J. Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India* (n.a. 1855), and W. R. Moore, *Female Infanticide in the Benaras Division* (Calcutta, 1868).

The role of Christian missionaries in exposing abuses and stimulating social reform movements and legislation is well-known, and has been the subject of numerous recent works. Kenneth Ingham's *Reforms in India, 1793-1833: An Account of the Work of the Christian Missionaries on behalf of Social Reform*

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(Cambridge University Press, 1956) is based on a careful study of the papers of missionary societies, and includes chapters on missionary attitudes towards caste, "idolatrous festivals" and sati, education, and the status of women (Chapters II-V). The Serampore missionaries have been studied in detail by Daniel E. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837* (Cambridge University Press, 1967), Chapter VII of which is on social reform. Indian work in this field includes R. C. Majumdar, *Christian Missionaries and the Renaissance in Bengal* (*Bengal Past and Present*, Jubilee Number, Calcutta, 1967), S. B. Chaudhuri, *Christian Missionaries in Bengal* (N. K. Sinha, ed., *The History of Bengal 1757-1905*, University of Calcutta, 1967) and K. P. Sengupta, *Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793-1833* (Calcutta, 1971). Also worth mentioning in this context is Muhammad Mohar Ali's *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities, 1833-1857* (Chittagong, 1965). The missionaries themselves, of course, were prolific writers and of the innumerable nineteenth century accounts left by themselves, special mention may be made of Alexander Duff's highly provocative *India and Indian Missions* (Edinburgh 1840), Reverend James Long's *Handbook of Bengal Missions* (London, 1848), Weitbrecht's *Missionary Sketches in North India* (London, 1858), J. C. Marshman's *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (2 volumes, London, 1859), George Smith's *The Life of Alexander Duff* (2 volumes, London, 1879), M. A. Sherring's *The History of Protestant Missions in India* (London, 1884), and the *History of Christianity in India* (compiled from Sherring, Smith and Bradley, Madras, 1895). Among the numerous missionary tracts dealing with social abuses and demanding reforms, mention should be made of Reverend James Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity, Relative to the Suttee, Infanticide, British connexion with Idolatry, Ghaut Murders, Slavery and Colonization in India to which is added humane hints for the Amelioration of the State of Society in British India* (Seely and Son, London, 2nd Edition, 1830), and Reverend H. Bower's prize *Essay on Hindu Caste* (Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society, Calcutta, 1851). In the National Library (Calcutta), the latter pamphlet is bound together with a number of other tracts, of which the most interesting for the present-day reader is Krishnamohan Banerji's essay on caste.

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The missionaries, of course, were not the only people in England concerned about Indian social reform, though they were by far the most organized and vociferous. The more secular approach to reform, often associated with Utilitarianism in the first half of the nineteenth century and Positivism in the second, was typified in the 1820s, for instance, by the *Calcutta Journal* edited by James Silk Buckingham, extracts from which have been published recently (Satyajit Das, edited, *Selections from the Indian Journals, Volume I, Calcutta Journal* 1818-19; Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1963). Of interest in this connexion also is I. J.Prichard, *The Inaugural Lecture of the London Association in Aid of Social Progress in India*, delivered at the Society of Arts' room, Adelphi, 8 June 1871 (W. H. Allen and Co., London, 1872 ?), which emphasized the need for women's education, technical schools, and jail reform, and deplored the missionary near-monopoly of the social reform field. The National Library also has an *Annual Report of the National Indian Association in Aid of Social Progress and Education in India for the year 1890* (Dodd, Eyton and Company, London, 1891), containing information about the working of an Indian Female Education Fund, the main beneficiary of which seems to have been Sasipada Banerji's Widows' Home at Baranagore. No full-length study exists, however, of the role—and the limitations —of such nineteenth century "Indophile" Englishmen unconnected with missionaries; a critical study of this theme might contribute greatly to the understanding of the specific style, content, and techniques of our own social reform movements.

III. Bengal

Social reform movements in nineteenth century Bengal have generally been studied as an integral part of the socalled "Bengal Renaissance", about which there exists a vast and growing literature. Amit Sen (Susobhan Sarkar)'s *Notes on the Bengal Renaissance* (Bombay, 1946; recently reprinted as part of the same author's *Bengal Renaissance and Other Essays*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1970) has provided a handy introduction to the subject for a whole generation of students, despite the

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author's own description of his book as a mere "sketch of the narrative of events on the surface", written "to supply background material to political workers on the Left" (pp. 3-4). Nemai Sadhan Bose's *The Indian Awakening and Bengal* (2nd Edition, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1969) provides a more recent textbook summary. Chapter VIII of this book is specifically about social reform, and describes the anti-sati movement, the reform ideas of Rammohun and of Young Bengal, and, above all, Vidyasagar and the campaign for widow-remarriage. Another useful general survey is the collection of essays commemorating the centenary of Bipinchandra Pal, entitled *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance* (ed., Atulchandra Gupta, National Council of Education, Jadavpur, 1958). The relevant articles here include those on Rammohun (Prabhatchandra Ganguli), Derozio and Young Bengal (Susobhan Sarkar), Debendranath (Dilipkumar Biswas), Vidyasagar (Benoy Ghosh), Keshabchandra Sen (Amiyacharan Banerji), and the Brahmo Samaj (Jogananda Das). *The History of Bengal 1757-1905* (ed., N. K. Sinha, Calcutta University, 1967) contains a chapter on social changes by Pradip Sinha, and the sections on Bengali literature (Amales Tripathi) and religion (Nisithranjan Roy, Dilipkumar Biswas, Jagadishnarayan Sarkar, and Sashibhusan Chaudhuri) also contain some relevant information. Pradip Sinha's *Nineteenth Century Bengal—Aspects of Social History* (Firma K. L. Mukhopahdyay, Calcutta, 1965) is refreshingly, if at times controversially, different from the general run of descriptions of by now fairly well-known facts, and the section on the men he has called the "Bengal Victorians" (Chapter VI) is particularly interesting. Way back in 1934, Bimanbihari Majumdar broke new ground through the use of rare contemporary newspapaers in his *History of Political Thought from Rammohun to Dayananda* (Calcutta, 1934); the revised and enlarged edition of this work (*History of Indian Social and Political Ideas from Rammohun to Dayananda*, Bookland, Calcutta, 1967) remains invaluable for its impressive collection of data, if not for its analytical strength. This contains a preliminary section (Chapter I) on "The Problem of Social Reform", while the chapters on "Philosophical Radicals", "Liberal School of Political Thought", "Critics of Liberal Thought", and "Social Thinkers and Reformers

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of the Pre-Congress Era" (Chapters III, V-VI, VIII) are also extremely informative.

Among the very large number of general works in Bengali, mention may be made of Kazi Abdul Wadud, *Banglar Jagoran* (Viswabharati, Calcutta, 1956), Asit Kumar Bandopadhyay, *Unabinsa Satabdir Bangali O Bangala Sahitya* (Calcuctta, 1956), Sushilkumar Gupta, *Unabingsa Satabdite Banglar Nabajagoran* (Calcutta, 1959), and the every useful collection of essays based on much first-hand material of Jogeshchandra Bagal, *Unabingsa Satabdir Bangla* (2nd Edition, Calcutta, 1963). The biographical gallery of Bengal's literary worthies, *Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitmala* (Brojendranath Bandopadhyay, Sajanikanta Das, and Jogeshchandra Bagal,Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, Volumes I-IX, 1939-1952), often provides information about social reform activities, since literature and reform were closely associated in the lives of so many. But the truly classic work on the subject in the vernacular is Sibnath Shastri's *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj* (Calcutta, 1903, 1909; New Age edition, Calcutta, 1955), an impressive near contemporary historical reconstruction, of which the one major criticism has to be that its very excellence and readability has led many later historians to depend a little too much upon it.

Contemporary journals and newspapers obviously provide a major source of information about social reform activities, and though many of these have been lost, a part of this rich material has become readily available in course of the last thirty years through the labours of two scholars. Brojendranath Bandopadhyay's *Sambadpatre Sekaler Katha*, 2 volumes, 1818-30, 1830-40 (3rd Edition, Calcutta 1949, 1950) brought together extracts from the missionary newspaper *Samachar Darpan*. The latter was in the habit of copiously quoting from its contemporaries, and the extracts from the Derozian *Jnananvesana*, for instance, provide one of the few really first-hand sources of information about Young Bengal. The more recent volumes of Benoy *Ghosh*, *Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra*, Volumes I-IV (Pathabhavan, Calcutta, 1962-66), have presented scholars with an enormous mass of data from no less than seven journals: *Sangbad Prabhakar* (Volume I), *Tattvabodhini Patrika* (Volume II), *Bengal Spectator*, *Sangbad Bhaskar*, *Sarbashubhakari Patrika*, *Vidyadarshan* (Volume III), and *Somprakash* (Volume IV). The

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use Benoy Ghosh himself has made of this material, in his introductions to these volumes and his *Banglar Samajik Itihaser Dhara* (Pathabhavan, Calcutta, 1968), is of course a rather more controversial matter.

Turning to specific periods, there is naturally a considerable amount of literature on Rammohun Roy and his times. The standard biography still remains that of Sophia Dobson Collet, *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (London, 1900; 3rd Edition, ed. Dilipkumar Biswas and Prabhatchandra Ganguli, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1962), Chapter VII of which provides abundant information about sati and the campaign against it. The Biswas-Ganguli edition also includes a valuable and up-to-date bibliography of works on Rammohun. The earlier Bengali biography, by Nagendranath Chattopadhyay, (*Mahatma Raja Rammohan Rayer Jibancharit*, Calcutta, 1881; 5th Edition, Allahabad, 1928; reprinted, Calcutta, 1972) still remains useful; the section on social reform is Chapter VII. Among recent works on the period dominated by Rammohun, Amitabha Mukherji's *Reform and Regeneration in Bengal, 1774-1823* (Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta, 1968) has a chapter (IV) on Early Social Reforms (the campaigns against infanticide, slavery, and, of course, sati), based mainly on fairly well-known sources. A.F. Salahuddin Ahmad of Bangla Desh made good use of the Bentinck Papers and of newspaper files preserved only at the India Office Library in his *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, 1818-1835* (Leiden, 1965). Much more controversial is David Kopf's *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (California, 1969), based in large part on Fort William College papers, which emphasizes the positive contributions not only of Orientalists and Serampore missionaries but also of the much-abused "conservative" critics of Rammohun like Radhakanta Deb and Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyay. And finally, of course, there are the writings of Rammohun himself: the *English Works* in six parts (ed. Kalidas Nag and Debajyoti Burman, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1945-51), of which the third part contains the classic tracts against sati; and the Bengali works, recently published in a single volume (*Rammohun Rachanabali*, ed. Ajitkumar Ghosh, Haraf Prakashani, Calcutta, 1973). Very useful also is J. K. Majumdar (ed.), *Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India, 1775-1845* (Calcutta, 1941), with

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its extracts from contemporary newspapers, tracts, and other sources.

The dominant interpretation of Rammohun, his social reform activities, and the "renaissance" supposed to have been inaugurated by him has tended to remain heavily eulogistic. Even the occasional dissidents (like Brojendranath Bandopadhyay in the 1930s and Rameshchandra Majumdar more recently) have focussed mainly upon personal trivialities (e.g., the alleged Muslim mistress) or at best questioned Rammohun's priority in matters like English education or the beginnings of Bengali prose. Recently, however, a more critical tendency seems to be gaining ground, reflected, for instance, in the papers presented by Asok Sen, Barun De, Sumit Sarkar, and Pradyumna Bhattacharyya to a seminar on Rammohun organized by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Liberary (New Delhi, October, 1972) and being published shortly by the Museum. The emphasis here has been upon the colonial context of our "renaissance" and the ways in which it is held to have distorted the efforts of even our greatest "modernizing" intellectuals. A seocond line of interpretation, put forward, for instance, by S. N. Mukherji, *Class, Caste and Politics in Calcutta, 1815-38* (in Leach and Mukherji, *Elites in South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, 1970) has tried to relate conflicts like that between the Dharma Sabha and the Brahmo Sabha, previously explained entirely in terms of ideology, to factional conflicts in upper-class Calcutta society. In his analysis of this 'daladali', S. N. Mukherji has drawn heavily on contemporary works like Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyay's *Kalikata Kamalaloy* (Calcutta, 1823; edited by Brojendranath Bandopadhyay, Calcutta, 1936).

Recent accounts of the Derozians include the already cited works of Jogeshchandra Bagal (*Unabingsha Satabdir Bangla*, 1963, Chapter IV, VI-IX), Bimanbehari Majumdar (*History of Indian Social and Political Ideas*, 1967, Chapters III-IV) and Susobhan Sarkar (*Bengal Renaissance and other Essays*, 1970—*Notes on the Bengal Renaissance*, Chapter III, and Part II, Chapters 3-4), as well as Benoy Ghosh, *Bidrohi Derozio* (Calcutta, 1961) and Arabinda Poddar, *Renaissance in Bengal—Quests and Confrontations, 1800-1860*, Chapter V (Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1970). The *Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitmala* series contain biographies of Krishnamohan Banerji (Volume VI,

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n. 72, 1948) and Pearychand Mitra (Volume II, n, 21, 1948). All later writers on Young Bengal have been greatly indebted to the biographical literature produced in the late 19th and early-20th centuries: Pearychand Mitra, *Biographical Sketch of David Hare* (Calcutta, 1877); Thomas Edwards. *Henry Derozio, the Eurasian Poet, Teacher and Journalist* (Calcutta, 1884), supplemented by E. W. Madge, *Henry Derozio, the Eurasian Poet and Reformer* (Calcutta, 1905; New Edition, ed. Subir Ray Chaudhuri, Metropolitan Book Agency, Calcutta, 1967); Sibnath Sastri's *Ramtanu Lahiri* (Chapter III); and Monmothanath Ghosh, *Raja Dakshinaranjan Mukhopadhyay* (Calcutta, 1917) and *Karmabir Kishorichand* (Calcutta, 1926). To this list might be added certain articles in old journals: biographical sketches of Tarachand Chakrabarti and Krishnamohan Banerji in the *Indian Review* of March 1840 and October 1842; and account of Radhanath Sikdar, based on an autobiography (never published and now apparently lost), in the *Aryadarshan* of Aswin-Kartik-Magh 1291 (1884-85); and H. Das, *The Reverend Krishna Mohan Benerji —Brahmin Christian, Scholar and Patriot 1813-1885* (*Bengal Past and Present*, Volumes 37-38, January-June, June-December, 1929).

Of the extant writings of the Derozians themselves, the *Public Speeches of the Late Babu Ramgopal Ghosh* (Calcutta, 1871) are entirely on political themes. Krishnamohan Banerji's *The Persecuted, or Dramatic Scenes Illustrative of the Present State of Hindu Society in Clacutta* (Calcutta, 1831) vividly reflects the rebellious mood of the early 1830s, while the same author's *A Prize Essay on Native Female Education* (Bishop's College Press, Calcutta, 1841) and *Hindu Caste* (Calcutta, 1851) are important tracts on social reform, analysing the evils produced by the ignorance of women following from their seclusion and by the caste system, particularly in its modern degenerate forms. A considerable part of the proceedings of the Derozian Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge (1838-1843) has been made readily available recently by Gautam Chattopadhyay (ed.), *Awakening in Bengal in the Early Nineteenth Century* (Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1965). Of the twenty-four papers reprinted here, three deal specifically with social reform: Krishnamohan Banerji's *Reform, Civil and Social*; Maheshchandra Deb's *A Sketch of the Condition of the Hindoo Women;* and Pearychand Mitra's *A Few Desultory Remarks on .... Reverend K.M. Banerjee's Prize*

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Essay on Native Female Education. Brojendranath Bandopadhyay's *Sangbadpatre Sekaler Katha,* Volume II (1841) contain numerous extracts from the *Jnananesvana* on the themes of women's education and emancipation and widow-remarriage, and the case for the latter is cogently argued, a full decade before Vidyasagar, in the *Bengal Spectator* extracts reprinted in Benoy Ghosh's *Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra,* Volume III (Calcutta, 1964). Much information may still be obtained from the files of the *India Gazettee* and *Bengal Hurkaru* preserved in the National Liberary (Calcutta), while a group of young scholars in Calcutta have recently discovered seven issues of the *Hindu Pioneer* (1835-1836) and reprinted some of the articles, along with a full contents list, in *Nineteenth Century Studies*, Volume I, No. 4 (Calcutta, October 1973).

For obvious reasons, opinions about the Derozians have been much more divided than about Rammohun, but here, too, the somewhat iconoclastic trend which has emerged very recently perhaps represents something new, for it criticizes Young Bengal not for its alleged wildness and excessive radicalism, but for its dependence on not-entirely disinterested "Indophile" Englishmen and on the ideology of free-trader liberalism. Barun De offered a very new and provocative reinterpretation in his *Role of David Hare in colonial 'acculturation'* during *the Bengal 'renaissance'* (a paper, as yet unpublished, presented to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in September 1972), and perhaps a reference may be permitted also to Sumit Sarkar, *The Complexities of Young Bengal* (*Nineteenth Century Studies,* October 1973). As with the papers on Rammohun cited above, social reform is not the central issue in these revaluations, but what is being questioned at least by implication is the entire context within which social reform operated with such fanfare in the nineteenth century, the choice of priorities and the problematic of an intelligentsia working under the hegemony of colonialism.

Literature in English is still surprisingly scanty about Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, certainly the most impressive figure in the social reform world of nineteenth century Bengal. Heimsath's account (op. cit., Chapter IV) is consequently based mainly on Vidyasagar's one translated work, *Marriage of Hindu Widows* (Calcutta, 1856), together with Pandit Narayan Keshab Vaidya (ed.), *A Collection Containing the Proceedings which led to the*

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passing of Act XV of 1856, an Act to remove all legal obstacles to the Marriage of Widows (Bombay, 1885). The only other existing account in English seems to be S. C. Mitra's *Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar: A Story of His Life and Work* (Calcutta, 1902). A full-scale English biography was commissioned, however, on the 150th anniversary of Vidyasagar's birth, and is being written by Amales Tripathi of Calcutta University, under the title *Vidyasagar, the Traditionalist Modernizer.* Vaidya's book is an useful compilation on the widow remarriage controversy, including the text of Vidyasagar's petition of October 1855, the rejoinders it provoked from orthodox pundits and from men like Radhakanta Deb, and the relevant Legislative Council proceedings of 1855-56. In Bengali, the principle source is obviously Vidyasagar's own works, recently published in three volumes *Vidyasagar Rachanasangraha*, Volumes I-III , Vidyasagar Smarak Jatiya Samiti, Calcutta, 1972), the second of which contains his famous tracts on widow-remarriage, child-marriage, and Kulin polygamy. The most detailed biography is Benoy Ghosh, *Vidyasagar O Bangali Samaj*, Volumes I-III (Calcutta, 1957-1959), while other accounts include Sambhuchandra Vidyaratna, *Vidyasagar Jiban-charit* (n.d.), Biharilal Sarkar, *Vidyasagar* (Calcutta, 1895), Chandicharan Bandopadhyay, *Vidyasagar* (3rd edition, Allahabad, 1909), Brojendranath Bandopadhyay's article in the *Sahitya-Sadhak Charitmala* series (Volume II, n. 18, Calcutta, 1948), and Jogeshchandra Bagal's *Vidyasagar Parichay* (Calcutta, 1960).

Turning now to the social reform activities of the Brahmos, the first general survey made of Brahmo history was that of G .S. Leonard, *A History of the Brahma Samaj, from its Rise to the Present Day* (Newman and Co., Calcutta, 1879; 2nd edition, Adi Brahmo Samaj Press, Calcutta, 1935). This offered a summary of Brahmo history under Rammohun, Debendranath, and Keshabchandra Sen. I have not been able to see two other early accounts, C. H. A. Dall's *The Brahmo Samaj of India, led by baboo Keshub Chundar Sen* (Calcutta, 1874) and Ramchandra Basu's *Brahmoism or History of Reformed Hinduism* (New York, 1884). The best available general account is still probably Sibnath Sastri's two-volume *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Cherry Press, Calcutta, 1911-12), the first dealing with Rammohun, the Adi Samaj and Keshabchandra's Brahmo Samaj of India, and the

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second with the Nababidhan and the Sadharan Samaj. There is no systematic separate study of social reform activities, but a lot of relevant information is naturally present—the anti-sati campaign, for instance, in Part I, pp. 46-58, the marriage reform issue in I 3, pp. 244-251, and social welfare activities in II 5. Sibnath Sastri inevitably writes as a Sadharan Brahmo, though considering everything he remains remarkably fair and objective towards Keshabchandra Sen; for the alternative, Nababidhan, interpretation of Brahmo history and standard work is P.K. Sen, *Biography of a New Faith*, 2v (Calcutta, new edition 1950). For later general surveys, see Upendranath Bal, *A Century of Service: A Survey of the Services Rendered by the Brahma Samaj in First Hundred Years 1828-1928* (Lahore, 1928); Manilal C. Parekh, *The Brahmo Samaj—A Short History* (Rajkot, 1929), dealing mainly with the religious aspect; the highly eulogistic article by Jogananda Das in the *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance*, and the more scholarly, but very brief, treatment by Dilipkumar Biswas in the *History of Bengal 1757-1905* (both works already cited).

The nineteenth century Brahmos seem to have had a fairly well-developed historical sense, and biographies, memoirs, and other contemporary accounts are here available in some abundance, though overwhelmingly in the vernacular. For the Tattvabodhini Sabha phase (1839-59), dominated by Debendranath and Akshoykumar Dutta and marked by important developments in Brahmo theology and theoretical assertions of the need for social reforms rather than specific Brahmo-led reform campaigns, there is the Maharshi's own autobiography (*Atmajibani*, Calcutta, 1898; ed. Satischandra Chakrabarti, 1927; 4th edition, Viswabharati, Calcutta, 1962; English translation by Satyendranath Tagore and Indira Debi, London, 1914), the excellent biography by Ajitkumar Chakrabarti (*Muharshi Debendranath Tagore*, Allahabad, 1916; Jignasa, Calcutta, 1971), and biographies of Akshoykumar Dutta by Mahendranath Roy Vidyanidhi (*Srijukta Babu Akshoykumar Datter Jiban-brittanta*, Calcutta, 1885), Nakurchandra Biswas (*Akshay Charit*, Calcutta, 1887), and Brojendranath Bandopadhyay (*Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitmala*, Volume I, No. 12 Calcutta, 1941). There is a brief sketch of Debendranath also in James W. Furrell's *The Tagore Family : A Memoir* (2nd Ed., Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta,

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cutta, 1892), though the main value of this book comes from its detailed account of the life and writings of a Tagore of an earlier generation: Prasannakumar (pp. 82-152). A first-hand source has become readily available through Benoy Ghosh's copious extracts from the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* (*Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra*, Volume II, Calcutta, 1963). These include Akshoy-Kumar Dutta's plea for widow-remarriage on rationalist grounds alone (Chaitra, 1776 S. E./1855); attacks on polygamy (Chaitra, 1777/1856, Bhadra, 1778/1856, Baisakh, 1788/1866); two sketches of Brahmo history (Aswin. 1769/1847, Falgun, 1782/1860), the second of them by Rajanarayan Bose; and interesting evidence concerning the growing caution in Adi Samaj circles about social reform following the split with Keshabchandra, accompanied by an increasing emphasis on patriotic values (e.g., Kartik, 1789/1867, also two, sharply contrasting, articles on the Durga Puja, Aswin 1784/1862, Aswin 1798/1876). A vivid picture of the age is conveyed also by Rajnarayan Bose's *Atmacharit* (Calcutta, 1909), as well as by his other writings: *Hindu-dharmer Sreshthata* (Calcutta, 1873); *Sekal O Ekal* (Calcutta, 1874); *Hindu athaba Presidency Colleger Itibritta* (Calcutta, 1876); and *Vividha-Prabandha* (Calcutta, 1882—consisting of reprints from the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* which include an essay on caste and three articles on social reforms). The cautious, centrist, position of many Brahmos of the pre-Keshabchandra generation on questions of social reform is reflected in Nareshchandra Sengupta's *Selections from the Writings of Hurrish Chunder Mookerji, compiled from the Hindu Patriot* (The Cherry Press, Calcutta, 1910), Section IX, where pleas for ending "divisions" within Hindu society are balanced by a defence of caste as "merely the embodiment ... of the natural inequality between men" against Duff (*Caste, Its Attributes and History, Hindu Patriot*, 11 June, 1857).

Brahmoism, despite bitter internal squabbles, attained its point of maximum dynamism and influence in the 1860s and '70s. A magnificent picture of this age can be obtained from Sibnath Sastri's *Atmacharit* (Signet Edition, Calcutta, 1952), with its vivid description of the widow-remarriage activities of the young Brahmos (Chapter V) and detailed first-hand account of the 1878 split (Chapters VI-XII). Another excellent vernacular account is Ajitkumar Chakrabarti, op. cit, the first five chapters of the second part offers a careful and critical analysis of the split

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between Debendranath and Keshabchandra in the early 1860s, while Chapter VIII is about the marriage act controversy (which is discussed in detail also in Rajnarayan Bose's autobiography, op.cit.). On Keshabchandra Sen there is Jogeshchandra Bagal's biography in the *Sahitya-Sadhak-Charitmala* series (Volume IX, n. 97, 1958), as well as a considerable Nababidhan hagiographical literature: P. C. Mozoomdar's *Life and Teachings of Keshab-chandra Sen* (Calcutta, 1887, 1931); P. K. Sen's *Keshub Chunder Sen* (Keshabchandra Sen Centenary Committee, Calcutta, 1938); Premsundar Basu, *Brahmananda Keshav—Life and Works*, Part I, 1838-1866 (Harisundar Memorial Series, Calcutta ?, 1937); *Keshab Chandra Sen—Testimonies in Memoriam*, compiled by G. C. Banerji. 2 volumes ((Allahabad, 1934, 1937); G. C. Banerji (ed.), *Keshab As Seen by His Opponents*—A *Series of Confessions* (Allahabad, 1930); and, also by G. C. Banerji, Keshabchandra and Ramkrishna (Allahabad, 1931). There are also, of course, Keshabchandra's own speeches : *Lectures in India*, 2v (Cassell and Co., London, 1901, 1904). Particularly notable here is the March 1872 speech at the Bengal Social Science Association (*The Reconstruction of Native Society*), as well as *Religion and Social Reformation*. Both lectures illustrate Keshabchandra's demand for total and simultaneous reforms, as well as his insistence: "If you wish to regenerate this country, make religion the basis of all your reform movements." Extracts from the *Sulabh Samachar*, Keshabchandra's pioneer effort at low-priced journalism, have been collected in Jogendranath Gupta (ed.), *Keshab-chandra O Sekaler Samaj* (Calcutta, 1949). The Nababidhan viewpoint is put forward in Protap Chunder Mozoomdar's *Faith and Progress of the Brahmo Samaj* (Calcutta, 1882), as well as in his *Lectures in America and Other Papers* (Navavidhan Publication Committee, Calcutta, 1955), while the doctrines of this "New Dispensation" are also discussed in Romain Rolland's *Life of Ramakrishna* (Almora, 3rd Edition, 1944, p. 113f. and Appendix II), Hemchandra Sarkar's *A Life of Ananda Mohan Bose* (A. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1910) is an excellent biography of a Sadharan Brahmo Samaj stalwart, based on private letters and an unpublished diary. Early Sadharan Brahmo radicalism on social reform issues is well reflected in Sibnath Shastri's *Jati-bhed* (Calcutta, 1884; ed. Dilip Biswas, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta, 1963), while another useful first-hand account is Bijoykrishna Goswami,

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Brahmo Samajer Vartaman Abastha ebang Amar Jivane Brahom Samajer Parikshita Vishay (Calcutta, 1872, 1886). Details of Brahmo organizations and activities are preserved in Sophia Dobson Collet's *Brahmo Year-Book* series, published in London from 1879 onwards, of which the National Library in Calcutta has the 1881-82 volume. Among Brahmo-run journals, the National Library has the *Indian Mirror*, connected with Keshabchandra, from 1883 onwards, and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj mouthpiece, *Brahmo Public Opinion*, of 1878-1880.

A Brahmo not entirely identified with any of the conflicting sects who won a very special position in the social reform world of Bengal was Sasipada Banerji, promoter of normal schools to train women teachers, organizer of the Baranagore Widow's Home (1887-1901) and of no less than 35 widow-remarriages, and pioneer in the field of working-class upliftment through night-schools, a Workingmen's Club, temperance societies, and a monthly pice magazine, the *Bharat Sramajibi*. Heimsath includes a good summary of Sasipada's activities (Chapter X, pp. 269-272), and there are three more detailed accounts: *Sasipada Banerji's Life and Lifework* (author unnamed; Natesan's, Madras, 1918); B. N. Motivala, *The Romance of a Great Indian Social Servant, or The Life and Career of Mr. Sasipada Banerji* (Bombay, 1915), and Sitanath Tattvabhushan, *Social Reform in Bengal—A Side-Sketch* (Calcutta, 1904). Tattvabhushan's book, consisting of reprints from the *New India* and the *Indian Mirror*, also contains general sections on women's education and widow-remarriage, but is mainly about Sasipada's manifold activities. Very recently, a young research scholar (Kanailal Chattopadhyay) has unearthed a year's copies of the *Bharat Sramajibi* from a Bangladesh collection.

Despite the undoubted importance of the Brahmos in the 1860s and '70s, it would be a serious (and, unfortunately, a not uncommon) mistake to ignore the presence of numerous other individuals and groups connected with or concerned about social reform in one way or another. Benoy Ghosh (*Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra*, Volume IV, Calcutta, 1966) has presented us with nearly seven hundred pages of extracts from *Somprakash*, the very influential journal edited by Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan, a close friend of Vidyasagar who supported moderate reforms without ever becoming a Brahmo. A good proportion of these

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pages deal with social reform issues. Platforms for non-sectarian discussions of contemporary issues, including social reform, were provided by the Bethune Society, most active between 1851 and 1869, and the Bengal Social Science Association, founded in 1867 and patronized by Mary Carpenter and Florence Nightingale. *The Proceedings and Transactions of the Bethune Society, November* 1859—*April* 1869 (Calcutta, 1870), give an idea of the activities of the first, while many of the Social Science Association papers have been reprinted recently by Bela Dutta Gupta in her *Sociology in India* (Calcutta, 1972).

For a section of the Bengali intelligentsia, the Positivism of Comte became a major influence, serving as a justification for a kind of centrist position which advocated slow and cautious social changes but occasionally tended to slide over into neo-conservatism. This is the group analyzed by Pradip Sinha, op. cit., in his chapter on the "Bengal Victorians". The centrist attitude is well typified by Girishchandra Ghosh, about whom we happen to be exceptionally well-informed thanks to the labours of his grandson, Manmathanath Ghosh, the editor of *The Life of Girish Chunder Ghosh, the founder and first editor of the "Hindoo Patriot" and the "Bengalee", by one who knew him* (R. Cambray and Co., Calcutta, 1911), as well as of *Selections from the Writings of Girish Chunder Ghosh* (Indian Daily News Press, Calcutta, 1912). The 680 page *Selections* include two articles on the condition of women in India, as well as essays on temperance, female education and female labour. The works of Bankimchandra (*Rachanabali*, Volume II, Sahitya Sansad, Calcutta, 1969) and Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay (*Paribarik Prabandha*, Calcutta, 1882; *Samajik Prabandha*, Calcutta, 1892; *Vividha Prabandha*, Volumes I and II, Calcutta, 1895, 1905) are also vitally important in this context, and a critical account of Bankimchandra's social thought has been attempted by Asitkumar Bhattacharya, *Banglar Nabayug O Bankimchandrer Chintadhara* (Calcutta, 1964). Bipinbihari Gupta's *Puratan Prasanga* (Calcutta, 1913, 1923; Vidyabharati Edition, Calcutta, 1966), based mainly on interviews with the Comte enthusiast Krishnakamal Bhattacharji, provides an illuminating picture of the age.

In the 1880s and 1890s, social reformers in Bengal were increasingly swamped by the flood-tide of Hindu revivalism, which was later to link up with the reaction against Moderate political

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"mendicancy" to constitute the characteristic Extremist mood. The reminiscences of Bipinchandra Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times* (2 volumes, Calcutta, 1932, 1951) convey very well the atmosphere of this new period, and Pal also made a notable attempt to analyze the causes of the shift away from social reform in his Bethune Society lecture, *The Present Social Reaction—What Does It Mean* ? (Calcutta, 1889). Another description of the times is provided in Shib Chunder Bose's *The Hindoos As They Are, A Description of the Manners, Customs and Inner Life of Hindoo Society in Bengal. With a Preparatory Note by the Rev. W. Hastie* (Newman and Co., Calcutta 1881; 2nd Edition, Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1883); a comparison of this with an earlier description, S. C. Mitter's *A Discourse on the Domestic Life and Condition of the Bengali Society* (Calcutta, 1856), should prove quite rewarding for the social historian. From the 1880s onwards, Rabindranath was a powerful and prolific, though not always unambiguous, commentator on matters connected with social reform, and an attempt to extract a chronological pattern of development from his writings has been made by Susobhan Sarkar (*Rabindranath Tagore and the Renaissance in Bengal, Enquiry, No.* 5, 1961; reprinted in *Bengal Renaissance and Other Essays,* pp. 148-183).

The one major social reform issue on which progress was being made in the Bengal of the 1890s was the so-called sea-voyage movement for readmission of overseas travellers to their castes. *The Hindu Sea-Voyage Movement in Bengal* (published by the Standing Committee on the Hindu Sea-Voyage Question, Calcutta, 1894) brought together numerous "Vyavasthas" of pundits, as well as the opinions of "men of light and learning", in a bid to prove that trips abroad were not forbidden by the shastras. The new mood of Bengal was well revealed, however, by the isolation of the Brahmos in 1892 as virtually sole supporters of the Age of Consent Bill promoted by Malabari (see below, pp. 60-61). The collection of lectures brought together in the pamphlet *Hindu Marriage Customs* (Calcu ta, 1886 or 1887) almost unanimously took a stand against social reform: the evils of child marriage and enforced widowhood were said to have been grossly exaggerated, and free choice of partners was ruled out as incompatible with Hindu society. The speakers at this meeting (organized by the Debs of Sobhabazar) had included Gurudas Banerji,

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Chandranath Bose, Akshoychandra Sarkar, Haraprasad Shastri, and Jogendrachandra Ghosh.

The precise position of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement in the history of social reform in Bengal remains a matter of much controversy. Heimsath has subsumed Ramakrishna under the category of "traditional reform"—"of practial measures for social amelioration he apparently had nothing to recommend" (p.43). Vivekananda's thought, in sharp contrast, to him marks "the culmination of the 19th century social revolt" (p. 27)—an estimate somewhat difficult to recoucile with the general picture of "the failing social reform movement in Bengal" in the late 19th century, presented elsewhere in the book (pp. 263-274). The obvious rejoinder—that Vivekananda in rightly condemning existing social reform groups as alienated and upper class in character was pointing the way towards a genuine wholesale transformation of Hindu society—still leaves some doubts regarding the specific content of the Swami's programme of social change (as distinct from social service activities), quite apart from the very open question as to the extent to which his ideals have been maintained or implemented by his followers. There is much scope for research on these matters, though this might prove a rather delicate business. For Ramakrishna, the available literature in English includes Max Muller's *Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings* (New York, 1899) and *Rammohun to Ramakrishna* (Calcutta, 1952); Romain Rolland's The Life of Ramakrishna (3rd Edition, Almora, 1944), and the *Life of Ramakrishna, Compiled from Various Authentic Sources* (Calcutta, 1955). A very useful Bengali collection of contemporary views on the saint of Dakshineswar is Brojendranath Banerji and Sajanikanta Das, *Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa—Samasamayik Dristite* (Calcutta, (1952). For Vivekananda, the primary material is contained in the eight-volume *Complete Works* (Birth Centenary edition, Calcutta, 1963), along with Marie Louise Burke, *Swami Vivekananda in America:* New Discoveries (Calcutta, 1958). Out of the mass of secondary literature might be mentioned Bhupendranath Dutta, *Swami Vivekananda, Patriot-Prophet* (Calcutta, 1954), Sister Nivedita, *The Master as I saw Him* (Calcutta, 1910), R. C. Majumdar, ed., *Swami Vivekananda Centenary Volume* (Calcutta, 1963), Girijasankar Raychaudhuri's *Swami Vivekananda O Banglar Unabinghsha Satabdi* (Calcutta, 1927),

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Bimanbihari Majumdar, *Militant Nationalism in India and Its Socio-Religious Background,* Chapter III (Calcutta, 1966), and Amales Tripathi, *The Extremist Challenge*, Chapter I (Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1967).

IV. Western India

Social reform movements in other parts of nineteenth century India have on the whole received much less publicity and historical attention than what has been liberally bestowed on "renaissance" Bengal, yet as least in the case of the Bombay Presidency this neglect in no way reflects intrinsic relative significance. Passing through Bombay in 1881, Bipinchandra Pal admitted with some regret that "Bombay was socially far ahead of Bengal . ... Female education and the freedom of Social intercourse and movement of respectable Mahratta ladies was a new and inspiring experience which I had in Bombay" (*Memories of My Life and Times,* Volume I, p. 392—quoted in Heimsath, pp. 267-268). If religious reform in the western Presidency had been less influential and much less militant, that had only helped the cuase of social reform. As W. M. Kolhathar pointed out in 1897, in a Social Reform Conference Presidential address reprinted in C. Y. Chintamani's valuable collection, *Indian Social Reform* (see below, p. 61), in Bengal the Brahmos had virtually developed into a kind of new (and numerically insignificant) caste, "while in Bombay the refusal of the reformers to claim a separate caste for themselves has set the whole society in a ferment". (quoted in Heimsath, p. 99). Yet the available literature remains somewhat scanty, at least so far as English-language sources are concerned, and it will be obvious that the present author's ignorance of Gujarati and Marathi has been here a severe handicap.

Among the general works already cited, Heimsath, Chapters IV and X, and Natarajan, Chapters III and IV provide good introductions to the subject of Parsi, Gujarati, and Maharashtrian social reform. D.S. Sharma, Chapter III, and Manilal Parekh, Chapter XI, describe the activities of the Prarthana Samaj, while B.B. Majumdar's *History of Indian Social and Political Ideas from*

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Rammohun to Dayananda is a notable and worthy exception to the general tendency among most Bengali historians to take too literally Gokhale's notorious and very dubious compliment.

Kenneth Ballhatchet's *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India,* 1817-1830 (Oxford University Press, London, 1957), despite its ambitious title, is mainly about the administrative attitudes and policies of Elphinstone, but there is some relevant material, particularly concerning the sati issue, in Chapter X (*Education and Religion*). Much more impressive and important is Ravinder Kumar's *Western India in the Nineteenth Century—A Study in the Social History of Maharashtra* (London/ Toronto, 1968). This includes a somewhat novel interpretation of the medieval bhakti saints, as essentially disseminators of Brahminical "advaita" values among the masses, and not Protestant rebels as Ranade had imagined them to be (Chapter I); a detailed analysis of British revenue and educational policies; and—most relevant for our purpose—an interesting study, entitled *Old Elites and New Horizons* (Chapter VIII), of the "liberal" or "new Brahmins". Useful biographical sketches are given here of Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar, and, of course, Mahadev Govind Ranade. Chapter IX contains accounts of Jyotiba Phule's anti-Brahmin movement, the conservative resistance to the social reformers typified by Bhima Shastri Zhalkikar and Pandit Gattulalji Sharma, and the orthodox revival among the "new brahmins" themselves beginning with Chiplunkar and reaching its climax with Tilak.

Ellen E. McDonald's article, *English Education and Social Reform in Late 19th Century Bombay—A Case-Study in the Transmission of a Cultural Ideal* (*Journal of Asian Studies*, Volume XXV 3, May 1966) attempts an analysis of the precise character of Western intellectual influences on Bombay social reformers through a study of the curriculum of Bombay University. The emphasis on changes in individual behaviour characteristic of Ranade's generation is related to the influence of Butler's *Analogy of Religion*, a prescribed English text from 1862 to 1885, while a certain shift of interest towards institutional changes is explained in terms of the growing impact of J. S. Mill and Spencer. The currently much more fashionable "Namierite" approach, stressing material "connections" in place of ideology,

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has found expression in two recent articles in Leach and Mukherji (ed.), *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge, 1970). Though neither article is specifically about social reformers, Christine Dobbin's *Competing Elites in Bombay City Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (1852-83) throws much new light on the social origins of the intelligentsia and their conflicts with the dominant "shetia" families of Bombay City. Gordon Johnson's *Chitpavan Brahmins and Politics in Western India in the late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* is similar in methodology but nowhere near as striking or original in its conclusions.

In his address to the Bombay Provincial Social Conference of 1901, N. G. Chandavarkar attempted a brief general review of the social reform movement in Maharashtra. This has been reprinted in *The Speeches and Writings of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar* (edited by L. V. Kaikini, with an introduction by K. Natarajan, Bombay, 1911). Among other early general surveys, mention should be made of Uttamlal K. Trivedi, *Social Reform in Gujarat : A Retrospect* (*Indian Review*, Volume VI, n. 12, December 1905), and Manohar Lal Zutshi's series entitled *Hindu Protestantism* in the *Hindustan Review* of 1906-1907. A somewhat critical, Christian missionary account of the Bombay reformers, specially the Prarthana Samaj, is contained in J. Murdoch's *Papers on Indian Religious Reform* (Madras, 1890).

More first-hand sources on the social reform question include certain published official records, like *Repression of Female Infanticide in the Bombay Presidency* (Government of Bombay, Selections from the Records, CXLVII, New Series, Bombay 1875). Some information is obtainable also from *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India* (Collected from Bombay Government Records), Volumes I (1818-1885) and II (1885-1920) (Bombay, 1957, 1958), but even more valuable apparently, judging from the use Ravinder Kumar has made of them, is the unpublished material still lying with the Bombay State Committee for the History of the Freedom Movement in India. The latter include an article entitled *Pioneers of the Reform Movement in Maharashtra* giving details about the career of Gopal Hari Deshmukh, a *Note on the Life and Work of G.V. Joshi*, and a biography of Jyotiba Phule. As always, contemporary newspapers constitute a vitally inportant primary source, but unlike Bengal, no attempt seems to have been made so far to

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publish extracts from these. The journals important in the history of social reform include the *Bombay Darpan* of Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar in the 1830s and '40s (the first to espouse social reform in Western India); the *Prabhakar,* which published Gopal Hari Deshmukh's famous *Shatapatre* series during 1848-50; *Rast Goftar*, founded by a syndicate which included Dadabhai Naoroji, Kharsedji Nasarwanji Cama (who was the financial patron), S. S. Bengalee, and Karsondas Mulji, and edited later on by K. N. Kabraji: Karsondas Mulji's *Satya Prakash;* the *Indu Prakash* and the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*, associated with Ranade; the *Indian Spectator* of *Behramji Malabari*; the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* of Tilak; and the *Sudharak* of Agarkar and Gokhale.

The major part of the information currently available about Western Indian social reform, however, lies scattered amidst the biographies and actual writings of a series of prominant personalities. For the early, mid-century period, marked by the activities of Elphinstone College products (the secret Paramhans Mandali of 1840, and The Students Literary and Scientific Society of 1848 with its Gujerati and Marathi branches) and the writings of Jambhekar and Gopal Hari Deshmukh, the main sources are James Kellock's *Mahadev Govind Ranade* (Calcutta, 1926); R. P. Masani's *Dadabhai Naoroji—The Grand Old Man of India* (Allen and Unwin, London, 1939), Chapters IV and VI; the four-volume *Memoirs and Writings of Acharya Bal Shastri Jambhekar* (ed., Ganesh G. Jambhekar, Poona, 1950), and two contemporary tracts used by Heimsath, Lakshmana Ganapati's *Essay on the Promotion of Domestic Reform among the Natives of India* (Bombay, 1843), and *The Students' Miscellany; containing a Selection of the Essays Read at the Students Literary and Scientific Society*, No. 1 (Bombay, 1850). The latter collection is evidently the counterpart of the Society for Acquisition of General Knowledge proceedings in Calcutta, and a comparative study should prove extremely rewarding.

The small but very influential Parsi community of Bombay, as is well known, proved more receptive to Western influences than practically any other group in India. A brief introduction to the subject of Parsi reform is provided by Dr. J. F. Bulsara's fifty-page booklet, *Social Reform among the Parsis* (Evelyn Hersey Memorial Lecture, Delhi School of Social Work, Delhi University,

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1968). The treatment is inevitably somewhat too general, but there is also a short two-page "bibliography on the Parsis". For information about the community in general, the standard source is still Dosabhai Franji Karaka's two-volume *History of the Parsis* (Macmillans, London, 1884). Chapters III, IV and VI of the first volume describe the traditional manners, customs, and educational standards of the Parsis. The accent in the second volume is on economic and religious activities, but the account of distinguished Parsis of Gujarat and Bombay (Chapters I and II) has some relevance for our subject, and even more useful is Appendix B, which gives a detailed history of the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 (Act XV of 1865), the first legislation on the subject in India. The Natesan publication, *Famous Parsis—Biographical and Critical Sketches of Patriots, Philanthropists, Politicians, Reformers, Scholars, and Captains of Industry* (Madras, 1930) contains fourteen biographies, among which particularly relevant for us are the accounts of Framji Cowasji Banaji, a pioneer of English education within his community; Naoroji Ferdoonji and K. R. Cama, close associates of Dadabhai; Dadabhai Naoroji himself; Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, fighter for women's rights and philanthropist interested in labour welfare, the counterpart of Bengal's Sasipada Banerji; and Behramji N. Malabari. R. P. Masani's biography of Naoroji has been cited already, and the considerable literature on Malabari will be discussed in connexion with the all-India reform movement of which he may be considered the pioneer.

The early social reform movement in Gujarat produced personalities like Mehtaji Durgaram Mancharam, Narmada Shankar, Dalpatram, and Mahipatram Rupram, and organizations like the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad (1848) and the Buddhi-Vardhak Hindu Sabha of Bombay (1851). Apart from the already-mentioned article by Uttamlal K. Trivedi, Neera Desai's *Women in Modern India* (Bombay, 1957) contains much information about Gujarati reform, and it includes material from an unpublished history of the Gujarat Vernacular Society by H. T. Parekh. But the most outstanding reform figure produced by Gujarat was undoubtedly Karsondas Mulji, whose exposure of the immoral practices of the priests of the Vallabhacharya sect led to the famous Maharaja Libel Case of 1861-62, and who was also one of the pioneers of widow-remarriage in Western India

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Heimsath's account of Karsondas (pp. 103-104) is brief and incomplete, but a more detailed picture is given in Natarajan (pp. 53-60). The standard biography is B. N. Motivala, *Karsondas Mulji*, A *Biographical Study* (Karsondas Mulji Centenary Celebration Committee, Bombay, 1935), apparently based in part on a Gujarati life by Mahipatram Rupram which I have been unable to trace. Motivala emphasizes as the three main achievements of Karsondas the exposure of the Maharajas through his paper *Satyaprakash*, the rejection of "prayaschitta" rules after his visit to England, and the arranging of the Madhavdas Raghunathdas widow remarriage in May 1871. The third chapter also presents in a systematic manner Karsondas' views on caste, foreign travel, status of women, and other reform issues, while the fourth describes his contributions to the *Satya Prakash* and *the Rast Goftar* as well as his published books: *The Sect of the Maharajas* in English and *Niti-Vachan, Sansar-Sukh*, and *Kutumb-Mitra* in Gujarati.

The central position in the Western Indian reform scene, however, came to be occupied increasingly by Maharashtrians. Maharashtrian reform was marked by a rich diversity, including such different figures and movements as Vishnu Shastri Pandit, who tranlasted Vidyasagar into Marathi and founded the Bombay Widow Marriage Association in 1866; Visvanath Narayan Mandlik, advocate of slow internal change who became increasingly conservative with age; the Telang-Ranade School, with its tendency to move along the "line of least resistance"; the more militant reformers, led by R. G. Bhandarkar and then by N. C. Chandavarkar; G. G. Agarkar, friend and later bitter rival of Tilak; the revivalist trend, beginning with Chiplunkar and developed by Tilak; and the "kunbi" protest against brahmin domination, started by Jyotiba Phule.

For Mandlik, the basic source is the *Writings and Speeches of the Late Honourable Rao Saheb Vishvanath Narayan Mandlik, CSI* (ed., N, V. Mandlik, Native Opinion Press, Bombay, 1896). This includes a 30-page sketch of Mandlik's life by Damodar Ganesh Padhye which emphasizes the change in Mandlik's attitudes towards social reform, from a moderate advocacy to increasing conservatism. It is the later near-orthodox Mandlik who is represented by the three papers on social reform issues included in this collection. The memorandum to the 1882 Education

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Commission still supports female education while strongly objecting to mixed schools; the April 1885 letter to the Bombay Government on *State Interference in the Matter of Social Reform amongst Hindus* is virtually a point-by-point rejoinder to Malabari's pleas against enforced widowhood and infant marriages; and orthodoxy reaches its climax in the December 1887 memorandum, *On the Proposal for the Abolition of Imprisonment in Execution of Decrees for Restitution of Conjugal Rights* concerning the case of Dadaji Vs Rakhmabai. A critical assessment of Mandlik's views on social reform is N. G. Chandavarkar's 1893 speech, *The Mandlik School and Reform from Within*, included in *The Speeches and Writings of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar* (ed. L. V. Kaikini, Bombay, 1911).

Chandavarkar's collection also contains an analysis of the standpoint of K. T. Telang (*The Telang School and "The Line of Least Resistance"*). founder-member of the Prarthana Samaj and prominent leader of the National Social Conference who yet advocated a middle-of-the-road position on many social reform questions, a cautious moderation with which Ranade too identified himself in his 1895 address, *The Telang School of Thought* (included in Ranade's *Religious and Social Reform*, Bombay, 1902). On Telang, the available material includes the Telang Centenary Number (1951) of the *Social Reform Annual* published by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association, as well as his own writings: *Notes on the Age of Consent Bill* (n.d. or pub.) critical of R.C. Mitter and Sasadhar Tarkachudamani, yet trying at the same time to tone down Malabari's extremism; and *Selected Writing and Speeches* (with an introduction by Dinshaw Wacha; Bombay, 1916), The latter contains five papers on the social reform question : review of Malabari's note on infant marriage and enforced widowhood, two discussions on the relationship between social and political reform and speeches at the second and the third Social Conferences, 1888-89.

Literature on Mahadev Govind Ranade, the most outstanding figure in the history of the Western Indian reform movement, is naturally abundant. Good general accounts are available in Heimsath (Chapter VIII), Natarajan (Chapters IV and VI), and Ravinder Kumar (Chapter VIII). Among the numerous biographies, the early life by James Kellock (*Mahadev Govind Ranade*, Calcutta, 1926) is still frequently used by historians. T. V.

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Parvate's *Mahadev Govind Ranade—A Biography* (Asia, Bombay, 1963) is a more recent study, containing chapters on "Bombay's Formative Influences" (Chapter III), Prarthana Samaj activities (Chapter IV), Ranade as "Protagonist of Social Reform" (Chapter IX), as well as of course studies of Ranade's economic, political, and historical ideas (Chapters X-XI). D. G. Karve's *Ranade, thc Prophet of Liberated India* (Poona, 1942) attempted a somewhat more theoretical analysis of Ranade's ideas; the relevant section here is Chapter III, entitled "Social Reform". Another "search for the theories behind Ranade's writings" is P. J. Jagirdar's *Studies in the Social Thought of M.G. Ranade* (Asia, Bombay, 1963), containing a bibliography which lists several Marathi works on the subject, and an interesting analysis (in Part II, Appendix) of "Western Elements in the Social Thought of Ranade".

But the major source on Ranade naturally remains his own writings: the thirteen essays and speeches collected in his *Religious and Social Reform* (compiled by M.B. Kolaskar, Gopal Narayan and Company, Bombay, 1902), and the *Miscellaneous Writings of the Late Hon'ble Mr. Justice M.G. Ranade, with an Introduction by Mr. D.E. Wacha* (published by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Poona, 1915), which contain most of his Social Conference addresses. Ranade could not always live up to his ideals in practice, yet in sheer intellectual power he remains perhaps the most impressive of our nineteenth-century social reformers. Most striking of all is his breadth of vision: while mainly concerned like all contemporary reformers with infant marriage and widow remarriage, Ranade's speech on *Revival and Reform* (*Religious and Social Reform*, Chapter VI) dealt with virtually all the issues raised by the reform movement (female education, foreign travel, inter caste marriages, the "purity movement" comprising the anti-nautch and temperance agitations, re-entry into Hindu society of ex-converts, reduction in marriage expenses, etc.), and his *Heslop College address* (Nagpur, 1891—included in *Miscellaneous Writings*) offered a brilliant analysis of the four methods of social reform —reinterpretation of texts, appeals to conscience or public opinion, imposition of penalties by caste tribunals or through state action, and the formation of new reformed sects. His speeches at the eighth and the ninth National Social Conference (1894-95--*Miscellaneous Writings*) gave an

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excellent account of the *Past History of Social Reform*. Another noteworthy feature is Ranade's determined efforts to link modern social reform with the traditions of the country, as shown both by his meticulous analysis of the shastras in *The Age of Hindu Marriage* and *Vedic Authorities for Widow Marriage* (*Religious and Social Reform*, Chapters II-III), and by his interesting, if historically rather controversial, account of *The Saints and Prophets of Maharashtra* as Protestant rebels in *Rise of the Maratha Power* (Bombay, 1901).

Late nineteenth-century Maharashtra produced a second outstanding scholar-reformer in R. G. Bhandarkar, whose ideas (particularly on caste) were often much more radical than those of Ranade. For Bhandarkar, the basic source is the four-volume *Collected Works* (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927-1933), of which the second volume contains the major writings on religious and social subjects. The essays combine deep scholarship with militant commitment to social reform, and particularly remarkable are the critiques of the caste system: *The Indian Caste System* and the *Presidential Address at the Poona National Social Conference*, 1895 (Volume II, sections 2-3). The former article contains interesting information about the secret Paramhans Mandali; the latter led to the first National Social Conference resolution of the untouchability question.

After Ranade's death, the leadership of the National Social Conference passed into the hands of N. G. Chandavarkar, ably backed by K. Natarajan and the *Indian Social Reformer*, and together they developed the line already put forward by Bhandarkar, rejecting the Telang-Ranade approach. On Chandavarkar, there is a Marathi biography by D. G. Vaidya published in 1937, as well as Ganesh L. Chandavarkar, *A Wrestling Soul, Story of the Life of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar*, with a Foreward by D. K. Karve and an Introduction by P. B. Gajendragadkar (Popular Book Depot, Bombay 1956). This is based on Chandavarkar's private papers, as well as on published writings and Vaidya's Marathi biography, and three chapters are particularly relevant for social reform history : III (*The Indu Prakash*), VII (*The Reformers' Faith*), and VIII (*The Reformer*). The *Speeches and Writings of Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar* (edited by L. V. Kaikini, with an introduction by K. Natarajan. Manoranjak Grantha Prasarak Mandali, Girgaon-Bombay, 1911) contain, besides the

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critiques of the Mandlik and the Telang schools already mentioned, numerous speeches at National Social Conferences and other platforms. These tend to be popular rather than scholarly in tone, with one notable exception : the paper entitled *The British Government and Hindu Religious Customs*, which represents quite an impressive historical study.

Telang, Ranade, Bhandarkar, and Chandavarkar comprised the central axis of the Maharashtrian reform movement, and they were the principal managers also of the National Social Conference (which is discussed below, p. 61, in connexion with all-India reform attempts). But late-nineteenth-century Maharashtrian reform also includes two other strands. The anti-Brahmin kunbi or rich peasant movement was started by Jyotiba Phule in the 1870s with his Satya Shodak Samaj (1873) and polemical tracts like the *Gulamgiri*. A translation of the latter is available in the material lying unpublished with the Bombay State Committee on the History of the Freedom Movement, and on Phule himself there are two biographical studies: A.K. Ghorpade's *Mahatma Phule* (in Marathi, 2nd edition, Poona, 1959), and D. Keer, *Mahatma Jyotiba Phooley: Father of Our Social Revolution* (Bombay, 1964). A second current, mainly Chitpavan Brahmin in composition like the Ranade connexion and unlike Phule, but differing from both in its links from the beginning with rising Extremist sentiment, began with Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and found expression in the Deccan Education Society founded by Agarkar and Tilak in the 1880s. For this, an important source is P.M. Limaye's *The History of the Deccan Education Society* (Poona, 1935), which contains an account of the split between Tilak on the one hand and Agarkar and Gokhale on the other, a quarrel with momentous consequences for the history of both social reform and nationalism in our country. No detailed English biography of Gopal Ganesh Agarkar is as yet available, which is a pity, since Agarkar seems to have been one of the few who were able to combine political militancy with social radicalism. His works are available, however, in Marathi: *Sampurna Agarkar*, 3 volumes (Poona, 1940). Among the numerous works on Tilak, N. C. Kelkar's *Life and Times of Lokamanya Tilak* (Madras, 1928) contains much information about social reform; see also G. P. Pradhan and A. K. Bhagwat, *Lokamanya Tilak* (Bombay, 1985), Chapters II-IV, and T. V. Parvate, *Bal*

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Gangadhar Tilak (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1958), Chapter V (on the Tilak-Agarkar Split). S. A. Wolpert's *Tilak and Gokhale* (California, 1962) is an excellent and very well-documented comparative study. On Gokhale, see R. P. Paranjpe *Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Poona, 1915); J. S. Hoyland, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale: His Life and Speeches* (Calcutta, 1933); Tejumal K. Shahani, *Gopal Krishna Gokhale: A Historical Biography* (Bombay, 1929) and, yet another work by that indefatigable biographer, T. V. Parvate's *Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Ahmedabad, 1959). The later activities of both Tilak and Gokhale, however, fall outside our chronological limits, and the same applies to the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association (1903), the Servants of India Society (1905), the Social Service League of 1911, and the major part of the distinguished reform career of Maharshi D. K. Karve. About Karve, the main sources are his own *Looking Back* (*An Autobiography*), Poona, 1942, *Professor D.K. Karve: A Sketch of His Life and Life-Work* (from a work by Professor Paranjpiye), Madras, 1918, and G. L. Chandavarkar, *Maharshi Karve* (Bombay, 1958). Another Poona figure who became prominent from the 1890s was Pandita Ramabai, about whom see Mary Lucia Bierce, *The Triumph of An Indian Widow: The Life of Pandita Ramabai* (Philadelphia, n.d.). Finally, our account of the sources on the Western Indian reform movements may be rounded off by a brief mention of Sind, which produced the first formally incorporated social reform society. Dayaram Gidumal is the outstanding figure here, close ally of Malabari and founder of the Hindu Social Reform Association of Sind (1886), and information about the latter is to be found mainly from his *The Status of Women in India*, or *A Handbook for Hindu Social Reformers* (Bombay, 1889), which will be mentioned again in connexion with the all-India Age of Consent Bill agitation.

V. Northern India—The North-West Provinces and Punjab

Social reform ideas of the "modern", or more precisely nineteenth century type first reached Northern India via the English-educated

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expatriate Bengalis who had followed the British flag into these regions, and some of whom had come under the influence of Brahmoism. Largely confined within a small and never particularly popular linguistic group, however, Brahmoism was soon swamped by the rise of Dayanand Saraswati's Arya Samaj, that peculiar amalgam of revivalist "purificatory" movement and reform, insisting on the infallibility of the Vedas, militantly anti-Christian and anti-Muslim, yet advocating marriage reforms, widow-remarriages, foreign travel, and a drastic simplification of the caste system. Though founded initially at Rajkot in Saurashtra by a man hailing from Kathiawar, the Arya Samaj became (and remains) a formidable force in the Northern Indian Hindi-speaking belt. Echoes of the Brahmo-Arya quarrel, incidentally, have been preserved in a pamphlet by an unnamed "Punjabi Brahmo" entitled *The Arya Samaj and a Refutation of Its Tenets* (Lahore, 1883), as well as in a letter of Rajnarayan Basu to Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Secretary Sibchandra Deb reprinted in the *Tettvabodhini Patrika* of Aswin 1801 SE (1879) admitting that very few Hindustanis had joined the Brahmo Samaj in the North-West Provinces, and that "the Arya Samajes bid fair to outstrip the Brahmo Samajes as has been the case at Monghyr and elsewhere" (Benoy Ghosh, ed., *Samayikpatre Banglar Samajchitra, Volume II*, Calcutta 1963, p. 338).

Sections on Dayanand and the Arya Samaj are to be found in most general works on nineteenth century social reform, but the space accorded varies sharply with the author's views regarding the reform status of this undoubtedly very controversial movement. Thus S. Natarajan tackles the subject in less than three pages (Chapter V, pp. 71-73); D. S. Sharma devotes a big chapter to it (Chapter IV); both the concluding section and the very title of B.B. Majumdar bear witness to that historian's very high estimate of Dayanand as a reformer; while Heimsath's sections (Chapters V and XI) have some claim to be considered the best in the entire book. The strength of Heimsath's detailed and well-written account comes in part from the use it has made of an unpublished Yale thesis by J. Reid Graham, entitled *The Arya Samaj as a Reformation in Hinduism with Special Reference to Caste* (2 volumes, 1942).

The first-hand sources on Dayanand include of course the *Satyarth Prakash* (Beneras, 1875; English translation by

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Chiranjiva Bharadwaja, 2nd edition, Allahabad, 1915) and *Autobiography of Pandit Dayanand Sarasvati, written by him expressly for the 'Theosophist', edited by A.P. Blavatsky* (The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1952). The 37-page autobiography, however, contains little about social reform activities. *The Dayanand Commemoration Volume, a Homage to Maharshi Dayanand Saraswati from India and the World in celebration of the Dayanand Nirvana ardha shatabdi* (edited by Har Bilas Sarda, Vedic Yantralaya, Qaisargung, Ajmer, 1933) is a huge collection of 122 articles in English, Hindi and Urdu which contains some interesting reminiscences and personal impressions about the founder and about the early days of the Arya Samaj, but is generally too adulatory to be of much historical use. A large number of the articles, as is to be expected, consist of little more than brief formal tributes. Among the numerous biographies of Dayanand, mention may be made of Bawa Chhajju Singh, *The Life and Teaching of Swami Dayanand Saraswati* (Lahore, 1903); Har Bilas Sarda, *Life of Dayanand Saraswati* (Ajmer, 1946); and Suraj Bhan, *Dayanand, his Life and Work* (Jullunder, 1954), the last presenting a brief but succinct account based largely on Dayanand's letters and statements.

For the history of the Arya Samaj, there is a two-volume account in Hindi, Indra Vidyavachaspati's *Aryasamaj ka Itihas* (Delhi, 1957), and Diwan Chand's *The Arya Samaj, What It is and What It Stands For* (Lahore, 1942). Prakash Tandon's *Punjabi Century*, 1857-1947 (New York, 1961) also contains some relevant information. But the best account perhaps still remains Lala Lajpat Rai's *The Arya Samaj, an account of its origin, doctrines and activities, with a biographical sketch of the founder* (Longmans, London, 1915; revised edition, entitled *A History of the Arya Samaj*, ed. Sri Ram Sharma, Orient Longman's, India, 1967). Impressive in its documentation and accuracy, the work contains a good biography of Dayanand (Part I) and an analysis of the religious, social, political, organizational, educational, and philanthropic tenets and activities of the Arya Samaj (Parts II-III). There is also a brief bibliography. Lajpat Rai's *Autobiographical Writings* (ed. V. C. Joshi, New Delhi, 1965) contains a translation of the Urdu *Story of My Life*, written in 1914; this is particularly valuable as a first-hand account of the Arya Samaj split of 1893. The first volume of Lala Lajpat Rai's *Writings*

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and Speeches, 1888-1919 (University Publishers, Delhi-Jullundur, 1966), also edited by V. C. Joshi, may be consulted in connexion with the Arya Samaj reform activities. For Hans Raj, there is the biography by Sri Ram Sharma, *Mahatma Hansraj, Maker of the Modern Punjab* (Lahore, 1941 ?), while copious information about a later Arya Samaj social reform enthusiast is to be found in the 188 articles of the 555-page *Har Bilas Sarda Commemoration Volume, presented on the occasion of his completing seventy years* (edited by P. Seshadri, Ajmer, 1937). Finally, a fascinating and very original attempt has been made recently to explore the links between the Arya Samaj and other revivalist movements in Upper India and certain urban commercial groups in C.A. Bayly's paper, *Patrons and politics in Northern India* (Gallagher, Johnson, and Seal, ed., *Locality, Province and Nation —Essays on Indian Politics,* 1870-1940, Cambridge University Press, 1973). Based in large part on the private papers of mahajan families, this article represents Namierism at its best.

Caste associations played an important, though obviously often rather controversial, part in the social reform history of Northern India, specially perhaps in the North West Provinces. Heimsath, Chapter XI, contains a good account of these activities, focussing particularly on the Kayastha Conference with its pro- and anti-social reform tensions. The *Hindustan Review* of Allahabad is a major source for this caste association. The Vaishya community produced a very notable social reform enthusiast in the Allahabad lawyer Lala Baijnath whose writings include *Social Reform for the North-West Provinces* (Bombay, 1886), *Some Problems of Social Reform* (Aligarh, 1891), and *Suggestions for Religious Education and other Reforms in Hindu Society, with selections from the opinions of leading European and Indian thinkers on questions of religious and social reform* (Office of the Vaishya Hitkari, Meerut, 1909), the latter based on replies to a questionnaire drawn up by the author and containing 71 items.

Historians of social reform seldom remember the Sikhs, though the evolution of this reformed breakaway from Hinduism under British rule and influences can hardly be considered entirely irrelevant for our subject. The material may be searched for in the pages and copious bibliographical references of Khusawant Singh's *A History of the Sikhs,* Volume I (Princeton, 1963), while some first-hand sources on Sikh social history have been made

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easily available in Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs* (Indian Studies: Past and Present, Calcutta, 1962).

VI. South India

Material on social reform movements in nineteenth-century South India seems scantier than for any other part of the country, a paucity in part due perhaps to the relatively undeveloped state of historical research, but connected basically with the weakness of such movements themselves. Heimsath, who has discussed the South Indian movements in Chapters IV and X of his book, attributes this weakness to the well-known lag in higher English education in the southern Presidency, plus the fact that "social innovation by Madras Brahmins ... could mean the extinction of the privileges which separated them ... from the benighted lower orders" (pp. 111-112). The time-limit adopted for the present survey further reduces the material at our disposal, since both the backward castes movement and Annie Besant's spectacular conversion to social reform (as publicized in her *Wake Up, India: A Plea For Social Reform* (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, 1913) were essentially twentieth-century phenomena.

Reform ideas reached the South initially through the missionary activities from Bengal and Bombay of the Brahmo and the Prarthana Samajes, about which some information has been collected in Manilal Parekh's *Brahmo Samaj* (Rajkot, 1929) and J. Murdoch's *Papers on Indian Religious Reform* (Madras, 1890). Sibnath Sastri's tour of the South is described in detail in his *Atmacharit* (Signet Edition, Calcutta, 1952). About Viresalingam Pantulu, Prathana Samajist, widow remarriage enthusiast, founder of the Rajahmundry Social Reform Association (1878) and pioneer of modern Telegu literature, there is a very brief sketch by V. R. Narla recently published by the Sahitya Akademi of New Delhi, Venkateswara Rao's *Viresalingam* (New Delhi, 1968), and the much more substantial earlier account by J. Gurundadhan, entitled *Viresalingam: The Founder of Telegu Life* (Rajahmundry, 1911). The second major Southern reform

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figure was Sibnath Sastri's convert, R. Venkata Ratnam, the crusader for temperance and against temple prostitution, and one of the few upper-caste leaders to strive sincerely for the upliftment of the depressed classes. There is an English biography, K. Suryanarayana's *Sir R. Venkata Ratnam* (Rajahmundry, 1952), while his major writings have bene edited by V. Ramakrishna Rao, *The Message and Ministrations of Dewan Bahadur R. Venkata Ratnam*, 3 volumes (Madras, 1922-1924).

In the 1890s a group of young social reform enthusiasts emerged in Madras, connected with the Indian *Social Reformer* and the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association founded in 1892 and sharply critical of Annie Besant during her revivalist phase and also at first of Vivekananda. This group soon became extremely important in the National Social Conference, and helped Chandavarkar to overcome the tradition of the Ranade-Telang "line of least resistance" school, but as sometimes happened in nationalist politics also, involvement and importance at the all-India level reflected weakness in local position. Certainly Kamakshi Natarajan's *Indian Social Reformer*, which in any case soon shifted to Bombay, deserves to be remembered far more as the mouthpiece for all-India reform than as a journal of Southern reformers. The ideas of one member of this group can be studied in K. Srinivasa Row's *Papers on Social Reform: Being the Speeches and Writings of K. Srinivasa Row* (Madras, 1906), while some information is available also in K. Subba Rao's reminiscences, entitled *Revived Memories* (Madras, 1933).

A more active and successful phase of Southern reform was inaugurated by Annie Besant after her conversion with the Hindu Association of 1904, dedicated to "reform along national lines" and opposed therefore to Western-style rationalistic movements like the National Social Conference or the *Indian Social Reformer* group. Though in strict chronology this is going beyond our period, a reference seems due here to N. Subbarao Pantulu's collection, *Hindu Social Progress* (G.A. Natesan's, Madras, 1904), which includes the proceedings of the inaugural meeting of the 1904 Association, and numerous articles of M. Rangachariar and others putting forward this new style of social reform.

Reforms in the Nayar community of Kerala have been described in M.S.A. Rao's *Social Change in Malabar* (Bombay, 1957). For developments in Kerala, there is also E.M.S.

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Namboodripad's *The National Question in Kerala* (Bombay, 1952), one of the few really outstanding Marxist studies of modern Indian history.

VII. The All-India Reform Movement

Though Vidyasagar's widow-remarriage call met with some response from other parts of the country (the Bombay Widow Remarriage Association of 1866, Viresalingam's activities in Andhra), the real pioneer organizer of an all-India reform movement was Behramji Malabari with his sustained campaign in the 1880s for legislation to regulate child-marriages in Hindu society. Heimsath, Chapter VIII, gives a detailed and excellent account of Malabari and the Age of Consent Bill agitation. The text of Malabari's *Notes on Infant Marriage in India and Enforced Widowhood* (1884), from which Heimsath dates "the beginning of the all-India social reform movement" (p. 151), were reprinted in the *Government of India, Home Department, Selections from Records No. 3, Papers Relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India* (Calcutta, 1886). The *Notes* elicited a massive response, both positive and negative, and much of this material was carefully collected and published by Dayaram Gidumal in his invaluable *The Status of Women in India: Or A Handbook for Hindu Social Reformers* (Bombay, 1889). This contains a mass of information about the facts, causes, legal position, and possible remedies concerning infant marriage and enforced widowhood. Dayaram Gidumal was also the author of *The Life and Lifework of Behramji M. Malabari/Being a biographical sketch, with selections from his writings and speeches on infant marriage and enforced widowhood, and also his Rambles of Pilgrim Reformer* (Bombay, 1888). This contains a biographical sketch, plus no less than 132 articles by Malabari extracted from his *Indian Spectator* of 1884-1887. The biography was revised and extended a few years later in Dayaram Gidumal's *Behramji M. Malabari, A Biographical Sketch*/With Introduction by Florence Nightingale (J. Fisher Unwin, London, 1892). For Malabari, see also R. P. Karkaria,

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Forty Years of Progress and Reform, Being a Sketch of the Life and Times of Behramji M. Malabari (London, 1896).

The central organ of the all-Indian reform movement was, of course, the annual National Social Conference, from 1887 onwards. The first-hand source here is obviously the Social Conference Reports, published from Poona from 1889 onwards, and very good use of these have been made by Heimsath. Also very useful is C. Y. Chintamani's collection, *Indian Social Reform* (Madras, 1901), which includes "original papers" by Bhandarkar, Gidumal, Lala Baij Nath, Mudholkar, Mahendralal Sircar, Chandavarkar and other prominent reformers, Ranade's Social Conference speeches, and Social Conference presidential addresses from 1889 to 1899. Finally, there are the files of K. Natarajan's weekly, *Indian Social Reformer,* which are available at the National Library (Calcutta) from 1895 onwards.

VIII. Islamic Reform

Down to the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the predominant cultural and political force in the world of Indian Islam was that usually described, perhaps somewhat inaccurately, as the Wahabi movement. Though diametrically opposed to modernistic or Westernized reform, Wahabi fundamentalism did bring about crucial changes in the social life of its numerous adherents in an Islamicizing movement which in some ways seems to parallel the purificatory drive of the Arya Samaj in Hindu society. Early Western accounts of Wahabism and related movements include the articles in the *Calcutta Review,* Volumes XL (1864) and LI (1870) on Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Ismail, Titu Mir, Shariat Allah and Dudu Miyan, as well as of course the very influential but controversial analysis by W.W. Hunter, *Our Indian Musalmans: are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen* ? (London, 1871). The most up-to-date history of the Wahabis is Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahabi Movement in India* (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1966), which includes a detailed bibliography and an appendix listing a large number of Wahabi pamphlets. A mass of information has been

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made easily available also by Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan's *Selections from Bengal Government Records on Wahhabi Trials,* 1863-1870 (Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1961). Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan is also the author of a detailed *History of the Fara'idi Movement in Bengal,* 1818-1906 (Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1965), which contains an introductory section, on "Socio-Religious Conditions of the Muslims in Bengal". An unpublished doctoral thesis used by Khan is Muhammad Abdul Bari," "A Comparative Study of the Early Wahhabi Doctrines and Contemporary Reform Movements in Indian Islam" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's College, Oxford University, 1953). Also relevant in this context is Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan's article, "Research on the Islamic Revivalism of the Nineteenth Century and Its Effect on the Muslim Society of Bengal", included in Pierre Bessaignet (ed.), *Social Research in East Pakistan* (Asiatic Society of Pakistan Publications No. 6, Dacca, 1960). A general study of the initial British impact on Bengali Muslims is Azizur Rahman Mallick's *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal,* 1757-1856, *A Study of the Development of Muslims in Bengal with special reference to their Education* (Dacca, 1961). The post-Wahabi continuation of orthodox ulama hostility to British rule has been analyzed in Ziya-Ul-Hasan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and The Demand for Pakistan* (Bombay, 1963).

The more positive Islamic response to the West is the main subject of Aziz Ahmad's *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan,* 1857-1964 (Oxford University Press, 1967). The introduction deals with the little-known early accounts of Europe by Itisam al-Din and Mirza Abu Talib Khan (about whom see also Humayun Kabirs' *Mirza Abu Talib Khan,* Patna, 1961), as well as with the very interesting early-nineteenth century Oudh culture and the transitional figure of Karamat Ali Jaunpuri. Chapter II is a good account of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh movement, and Chapters III and IV deal with the "speculative modernism" of Chiragh Ali, Muhsin al-Mulk, and Mumtaz Ali (a critic of the purdah and of child marriages, and an advocate of equal rights for women), as well as with the distinctive approaches to Islamic history of Shibli Numani, Hali, and Amir Ali. The last days of the old Imperial culture have been sympathetically described in Percival Spear's *Twilight of the Mughals* (Cambridge, 1951).

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The published English works of Sayyid Ahmad Khan himself include *Loyal Muhammedans of India* (?, 1860-61) and *Lectures* (Ed., Munshi Siraj al-Din, Sadhora, 1892). The earliest biography was by C.F.I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan* (Blackwood, Edinburgh and London, 1885). Among later acounts, mention should be made of J. N. S. Baljon, *The Reforms and Religious Ideals of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Brill, Leiden, 1949) and B. A. Dar, *Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan* (Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1957). Much interesting information is available also in W. S. Blunt's contemporary descriptions: *The Future of Islam* (London, 1882) and *India Under Ripon* (London , 1909), as well as in C. F. Andrews' *Zaka Ullah of Delhi* (Cambridge, 1929). For Nawab Abd Al-Latif, the two main sources are his own *A Short Account of My Public Life* (Calcutta, 1885) and *Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E.—A Memorial Volume* (Calcutta, 1915).

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4
Conclusion

Three general remarks may be hazarded about the negative aspects of the existing corpus of historical literature on social reform movements—its uneven distribution, its tendency towards hagiography, and a certain compartmentalization.

That Bengal has figured so much more prominently in this survey than most other parts of our country may be explained partly, but not entirely, by the linguistic limitations of the present writer; the gross disproportion in available material between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries is perhaps an even more serious anomaly. Biographies of reform leaders written by their followers or admirers not unnaturally tend to present them as saints in shining armour, and this has happened often enough with figures like Rammohun, Keshabchandra, Vivekananda, Ranade or Dayanand Saraswati. Such biographical literature still contains abundant and indispensable first-hand material, but the work of critical reassessment remains. Most serious of all, may be, is the tendency to study individual reformers or reform movements in isolation, ignoring, in the first place, similar developments in other parts of the country, and, secondly, the broader socio-economic and political context in which the reform activities were taking place.

As in any other sector of historical research, the prerequisite for any substantial progress is an intensive and organized search for additional primary sources. Numerous pamphlets bearing on social reform issues are no doubt still lying about in private collections or obscure and neglected libraries. Newspaper files are seldom well-maintained in our country, and so far only

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in Bengal has the task of the would-be researcher been made somewhat easier by scholars like Brojendranath Bandopadhyay or Benoy Ghosh publishing copious extracts from rare journals. Most rewarding of all would have been private papers. Many of our nineteenth-century Western-educated stalwarts had developed the habit of keeping diaries; references to some of these are to be found fairly often in early biographies, but relatively few seem to be available today. As examples of apprently lost first-hand sources, reference might be made to the diaries of Ramgopal Ghosh and Radhanath Sikdar, cited by Sibnath Sastri in his *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj*, or to the diaries of Rajnarayan Basu, Umeshchandra Dutta, and Rakhaldas Haldar which Ajitkumar Chakrabarti used in his biography of Debendranath Tagore. Things are changing for the better nowadays, with intensive efforts being made to build up collections of private papers by institutions like the National Archives or the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, but one fears that far too much has been lost already, in social reform history just as in other fields. In the case of eighteenth-century lower-class reform movements, written records are bound to be very inadequate. What requires investigation here is obviously the oral tradition, and since many of these sects still survive, it is possible to rescue much of this from oblivion through field studies.

Search for new data becomes meaningful and exciting only when it is combined with new theoretical approaches and the formulation and testing of hypotheses. Suggestions of a few such lines of future research may be permitted in conclusion.

There has been far too little cooperation or exchange of techniques and ideas so far in our country between historians and sociologists. Sociologists, somewhat contemptuous of the lack of methodological awareness or sophistication of most historians, have hesitated to enter fields where dead documents must replace live interviews and field research; historians have returned the compliment by professing a deep aversion towards what they consider an incomprehensible and unnecessary jargon. Yet such cooperation seems vitally necessary in a subject like the history of social reform, which surely must be related to studies of phenomena like caste or "jati" mobility. How fruitful a combination of sociological and historical tools can become is indicated for instance in the recent article by Hitesh Sanyal on

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Continuities of Social Mobility in Traditional and Modern Society in India—Two Case-Studies of Caste-Mobility in Bengal (*Journal of Asian Studies,* Volume 30, Number 2, February 1971). Benoy Ghosh's attempt (in *Vidyasagar O Bangali Samaj*), to relate upper-caste social reform in Bengal to the population problems of Radi Kulin Brahmins seems oversimplistic, but it may be worthwhile to follow up the hypothesis made by Harold Gould about the United Provinces and taken up by M. N. Srinivas: "When a low-caste family became rich, as it very rarely did, it invested much of its money in building up its 'traditional status', whereas the Brahmins and Rajputs had a positive urge to invest in Westernization in their effort to seek new means of distinguishing themselves from the swiftly Sanskritizing low castes" (M.N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 66). Srinivas' "hunch ... that the varna model became more popular during the British period" (Ibid., p. 6) is surely another very interesting hypothesis awaiting detailed historical investigation, particularly because it runs counter to the facile assumptions regarding the liberalizing impact of British rule and English education so very common among most historians of nineteenth-century social reform.

The precise nature of the Western intellectual impact on social reformers is in fact a second theme demanding much more research in depth. The books recently written on the Orientalists (David Kopf), Utilitarians (Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, Oxford, 1959), and Victorian attitudes (Francis G. Hutchins. *The Illusion of Permanence/British Imperialism in India*, Princeton, 1967) have mainly concentrated on the British side of the process of acculturation. The factors conditioning what may be termed the selection process on the Indian side, i.e., what kinds of ideologies were chosen and what ignored or rejected by the English-educated intelligentsia, requires further study. It would be interesting to consider, for example, the precise ways in which the Brahmo style of reform in Bengal as developed by men like Keshabchandra Sen, Sasipada Banerji, and Sibnath Shastri (who all made trips to England, incidentially) was conditioned by mid-Victorian philanthropism and reform methods. Another worth-while subject would be the far-flung impact of Positivism upon the intelligentsia in widely-scattered parts of the underdeveloped world—the admirers of Comte including a considerable segment of the "Bengal Victorians", Muhammad Abduh

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in Egypt, the Young Turks, Russian intellectuals in the 1860s, and a big section of the intelligentsia of Brazil.

In recent years, Namierite methods of research have invaded Indian nationalist history in a big way, and it seems only a question of time before the fashion spreads to the history of social reform. To a considerable extent, one feels that this would be a welcome development in a field so much dominated till very recently by uncritical hero worship. An emphasis on detailed studies based wherever possible on private papers might be helpful also in avoiding the elements of vagueness and abstraction often noticeable in both sociological studies and "pure" intellectual history. Namierites have been commonly accused, and not unjustly in many cases, of banishing ideas from history, but this is certainly not inherent in their methods, and how illuminating the study of material "connections" might be for the history of religious and political ideologies is indicated by the recent article of C.A. Bayley on North Indian urban patronage groups which has been cited already.

The really valid criticism that can be made of the recent Namierite dissections of nationalism is the frequent conjuring away of the basic phenomenon of imperialist exploitation in a maze of detailed studies of personal connections and rivalries. As has been already noted in passing in the discussion of literature on Rammohun and Young Bengal, it is this colonial context which has been far too often ignored also in the conventional works on nineteenth-century social reform. The consciousness of intellectuals in a colonial society cannot help being to a considerable extent a kind of false consciousness, and what requires investigation is the precise way in which this affected the choice of priorities and style of activity of even the greatest of our social reformers.

Thus if social reform history is to become really meaningful for us today, it must be connected with the study of more general problems of Indian historical development. The evaluation of eighteenth-century reform attempts has relevance in the context of the stagnation, or otherwise, of pre-colonial Indian society; the analysis of nineteenth-century reform should form part of the general study of the development—or ossification—of Indian society under British rule.

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